

A case study of women's households, sanitation and care in Zwelitsha, an informal settlement section in Stellenbosch Municipality

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Declaration

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Abstract

This study highlights the experience of black African women living in poor households on the margins of Franschhoek and their efforts in navigating poverty against the backdrop of “development” in Langrug. Having garnered considerable media-attention as a site of successful informal settlement upgrading, Langrug has become a “celebrity community”. In the context of recent sanitation upgrading interventions, this study investigates networks of care and social reproduction in women’s households in Zwelitsha, Langrug’s most recently-settled section.

The study employs a mixed-methods approach to provide a comprehensive account of care. The findings illustrate that poor sanitation conditions and material poverty affect the level of care women can rely on and provide in the household and in the community. This thesis argues that the story of successful development in Langrug is far removed from the reality of the daily lives of many young and unemployed women who reside in Zwelitsha. Despite the significant contributions women make to their households and the community, many women are excluded from accessing the benefits of development. It is women who are well-connected who are able to access the resources and opportunities provided by community benefactors such as community leaders, non-governmental organisations and the state. Moreover, I argue that sanitation upgrading projects in Langrug, which rely primarily on the unpaid and underpaid work of poor women in the community, do not challenge the distribution of power and resources nor the gendered division of care work, and are therefore not transformative. To compensate for the absence of poor sanitation conditions, the care practices of women make up an “infrastructure of care” that sustain and maintain poor households in difficult circumstances.

Opsomming

Die studie beklemtoon die ervarings van swart vroue in arm huishoudings op die buitewyke van Franschhoek en hul pogings om armoede te hanteer, teen die agtergrond van ontwikkeling in Langrug. Media-aandag het Langrug uitgelig as 'n terrein van suksesvolle informele-nedersetting-opgradering. In die konteks van onlangse ingryping om sanitasietoestande te verbeter, ondersoek hierdie tesis vroue se netwerke van sorg en sosiale reproduksie in die huishoudings van vroue in Zwelitsha, die nuutste afdeling van Langrug.

Hierdie studie maak gebruik van gemengde-metodes om 'n omvattende weergawe te bied van sorg. Die bevindinge illustreer die effek van onvoldoende sanitasietoestande en materiële armoede op die vlak van sorg waarop vroue kan staat maak en voorsien in die huishouding en in die gemeenskap. Hierdie tesis voer aan dat die verhaal van suksesvolle ontwikkeling in Langrug verwyder is van die daaglikse omstandighede van jong en werklose vroue in Zwelitsha. Ongeag die bydrae van vroue tot hul huishoudings en die gemeenskap, het alle vroue steeds nie toegang tot die voordele van ontwikkeling nie. By voorkeur, is dit egter vroue met strategiese verhoudings wat in staat is om voordele en geleenthede aan te gryp wat voorsien word deur gemeenskapsleiers, niestaatorganisasies (NSO) en die staat. Ek voer aan dat sanitasieopgraderingsprojekte in Langrug, wat hoofsaaklik staatmaak op die onbetaalde en onderbetaalde arbeid van arm vroue in die gemeenskap, nie die verdeling van mag en hulpbronne óf die werkverdeling van sorg uitdaag nie, en sodoende nie verandering teweegbring nie. Om te vergoed vir onvoldoende sanitasietoestande, skep vroue se sorgpraktyke 'n "infrastruktuur van sorg" wat arm huishoudings ondersteun en onderhou in moeilike omstandighede.

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Acronyms

CORC: Community Organisation Resource Centre

CSG: Child Support Grant

EPWP: Expanded Public Works Programme

ISN: Informal Settlements Network

NDP: National Development Plan

NGO: Non-governmental organisation

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Plan

SDI: Slum Dwellers International

USA: United States of America

WaSH: Water, Sanitation and Hygiene facility

Symbols

M: Mean

SD: Standard deviation

SE: Standard error

p : Probability of an event or population proportion

r : Pearson's correlation coefficient (indicates effect size)

t: t-statistic

Chapter 1 Introduction

Vignette 1.1 Babalwa

Babalwa¹ sat between two shacks washing clothes in a shallow bucket when I interviewed her². Babalwa has been living in Franschhoek for 12 years. She stays with her husband, her sister and her sister's child in a two-bedroom shack in Zwelitsha, a section of the informal settlement Langrug. Her husband works in Franschhoek as a temporary farm worker in "season". Babalwa has four children who are 2, 5, 10 and 20 years old. They live with her mother in the Eastern Cape, where the younger children attend school. I asked her if it is better to raise children in the Eastern Cape or Zwelitsha? She said without hesitation that it is better to raise children in the Eastern Cape because it is more like home, that it is a better place to grow up than a township where there is no electricity and no water and it is not safe to go the toilet at night. She is scared to raise her daughters in Zwelitsha.

1.1 Problem statement and research questions

In 2011 an unprecedented partnership was established between the community of Langrug and Stellenbosch Municipality, Slum Dwellers International (SDI), and two local associates of SDI—namely the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) and the Informal Settlements Network (ISN). The partnership aimed to upgrade sanitation conditions in Langrug, an informal settlement outside of the touristic wine town Franschhoek (Fieuw, 2014:19). Despite the influx of substantial state and non-state

¹Babalwa is a pseudonym used to obscure the participant's identity. Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis.

² The interview took place in Zwelitsha, 23 September 2015.

resources into the small informal settlement, in 2015 many households still did not have access to adequate sanitation facilities and remained very poor. In the context of the recent sanitation upgrading interventions, this thesis investigates networks of care and social reproduction in women's households in Zwelitsha, Langrug's most recently-settled section.

Vignette 1.1. recounts the story of Babalwa, a woman who has lived in the Franschhoek area for twelve years and currently resides in Zwelitsha. It illustrates the precariousness of women's households in the context of poor sanitation conditions and material poverty. Babalwa's account highlights the research questions at the core of the thesis:

- How do women care for, maintain and reproduce their households in Zwelitsha?
- How do poor sanitation conditions affect women's caregiving activities in their households and in the community?
- How do NGOs, the state, and community leaders care for the community in Langrug?

1.2 Aim and scope of the study

The study aims to investigate the role of women in social reproduction in the household and in the community. It focuses on the everyday care-activities of women and the relationship between these contributions and development. The aim of this study is achieved by exploring the development context of Langrug and the surrounding area of Franschhoek, with a particular focus on two Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WaSH) facilities that service the community, and on the households of women living in Langrug.

Previous studies in Langrug, located in the fields of civil engineering, geography and urban planning have been concerned with technical solutions to the absence of sanitation facilities in Zwelitsha (Muniz, 2013), the institutional dynamics of participatory planning (Siame, 2013) and stakeholder relationships in the Langrug partnership (Bradlow, 2013). This thesis contributes to an understanding of development in Langrug in two ways. Firstly, whereas previous studies coincided with the Langrug partnership, this study takes place after the “development hype” and is thus well-situated to provide an *ex post* examination of the interplay between these development projects, local individuals and the community. Secondly, a focus on the intimate space of women’s households in Zwelitsha explores the extent to which development projects benefit women and their households. A focus on the experiences of women add to the research that has been done in Langrug in that previous studies have primarily been concerned with prominent stakeholders in the Langrug partnership.

1.3 Context

Franschhoek houses about 18 thousand people of whom 42% are black African, 52% are coloured and 5% are white (Statistics South Africa, 2012). In 2011, the Langrug population comprised of about 4100 Xhosa-speaking black African residents, 72% of whom had moved to Langrug from the Eastern Cape (ISN, Stellenbosch Municipality, Langrug Community Leadership & CORC, 2011).

Zwelitsha was established around 2005 by newly-settled residents in the area (ISN *et al.*, 2011). It houses a large population of young people, most of whom recently moved to

Langrug³. From 2001 to 2011, the Western Cape received an in-migration of about 430 thousand residents (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Youth unemployment (15 to 34 years) in South Africa is currently at 54% (Trading Economics, 2016). The migration of youth to the Western Cape is likely explained by the realities of unemployment, as many young people migrate from the Eastern Cape to the wealthier Western Cape in search of work (Jacobs & Du Plessis, 2016). In the context of high levels of unemployment and limited access to job opportunities, questions of care and development are worth exploring to understand how poor households survive.

Crapanzano's (1985) ethnography of Wyndal (Franschhoek) examines the subjectivities of the dominant class of white people living in and around the small town in the early 1980s. At the time, it was a community made up of mainly white Afrikaners and newly-settled English farmers, and a constituency of working-class coloured people working and living on the farms. Crapanzano remarks the noticeable absence of black African and Asian people (Crapanzano, 1985: 25). He characterised the experience of white South Africans as a banal waiting. Their tranquil lifestyles were out of sync with the conditions of oppression that black African and coloured people faced under Apartheid (Crapanzano, 1985:43). Scheper-Hughes (2004) visits the same area a decade later, shortly before South Africa's first democratic elections. She states that the experience of waiting differed for black African and coloured people:

Meanwhile, black South Africans were also waiting, of course, but their waiting was illuminated by hope and poised for action. Perhaps waiting was a more accurate metaphor to describe the Black and Coloured experience in South Africa. Theirs was a watchful waiting, endowed with the certainty that time, history, and God were on their side (Scheper-Hughes, 2004: 470).

³ The characteristics of the population are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Twenty years after the democratic transition, the “limits of liberation” (Robins, 2005) are revealed as large-scale state and commercial interventions and “sustainable development” projects compete with processes of job-shedding, dispossession and the painful everyday experience of poverty in the Winelands (Van der Waal, 2014). My study highlights the experience of black African women⁴ living in poor households on the margins of Franschhoek and their efforts in navigating poverty, against the backdrop of “development” in Langrug. In the context of the current “crisis of social reproduction” where many poor households are dependent on provision by the state and substitutionary interventions of NGOs, many South Africans are still waiting for the material promises of democracy (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015).

1.4 Research strategy and chapter outline

The study employs a mixed-methods approach to provide a comprehensive account of care in Zwelitsha. In the qualitative phase of the study, ethnographic interviews and observations proved to be rich sources of data alongside a focus group interview with women in Zwelitsha. In the quantitative phase of the study, a survey questionnaire, based on data produced in the qualitative phase, was implemented with the help of fieldworkers to generate data on the socio-demographic characteristics of women and their households.

⁴ Racial categories used during apartheid classified the South African population as Black, Coloured, White and Indian. Post-apartheid, wide socioeconomic differences still exist between the racial population groups which are reflected in spatial as well as social divides. Gibson (2003:774) argues that to ignore race would be to deny the extent to which South African society is shaped by its apartheid past. I use the terms Black African, Coloured and White to describe the population of Franschhoek.

In Chapter 2, I define the concepts of care and social reproduction and elaborate on how these concepts may be understood in the context of women's households in South Africa. The chapter also introduces Ferguson's (2013) concept of "declarations of dependence" which is used in Chapter 4 and 5 to make sense of women's strategies of survival and their response to "development". It further discusses how sanitation has recently become an important political and social issue, and discusses the value of studying sanitation in relation to care. In addition to presenting the methodology used in the study, in Chapter 3 I reflect on my role as researcher and the ethical and pragmatic challenges I encountered in the field. Chapter 4 describes the sample of residents captured in the survey and presents findings related to the characteristics of women in Zwelitsha and the structure of their households. Vignettes provide accounts of several individual women to complement the survey and illustrate the everyday experience of life in an informal settlement. In Chapter 5, I discuss the participation of women in efforts to upgrade sanitation in Langrug. I tell the story of two WaSH facilities—one of which was functioning when I began my research and another which was still under construction at that time—to examine the evolution of these development projects and the role women play in the community. I present findings from the survey on the availability of water and sanitation in Zwelitsha, and the distribution of domestic chores in mixed households to explore how sanitation conditions affect the care practices of women.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Jane Jenson (1997: 186) asks three questions related to care and social policy: Who cares? Who pays? And how is it provided? These questions offer a useful starting point to the analysis of care in Langrug. Who cares? In Langrug, NGOs care for the community and 'humanity', the state cares for citizens and marginal settlers, and women care for kin dwelling in Zwelitsha and elsewhere. Who pays [for care]? The South African state provides social assistance to women through a system of national grants, but as this thesis will show, many costs of care are absorbed by the household. How is care provided? NGOs and state intervention and investment in sanitation upgrading have provided some relief to residents, but women remain responsible for the brunt of care work in their households in Zwelitsha.

I draw on literature from the anthropology of development and humanitarianism to study the claims to care for the community by the municipality and NGOs. In this thesis I argue that the provision of care by NGOs is limited, and that despite a host of humanitarian and development projects, most women in Zwelitsha remain untouched by these projects. I draw on Chatterjee's (2004, 2008) concept of "political society" and Ferguson's (2013, 2015) analysis of the "declarations of dependence" and the politics of distribution in South Africa to explain how residents in Langrug make claims on the state and NGOs. Literature on the migration of women and the implications for the structure of the household and the organization of care is discussed, as is the everyday care activities women engage in as they make their homes in Langrug despite severe material difficulties. The literature on

women's migration and the organization of care in fluid households also offers insights into women's experiences in Zwelitsha. Finally, I draw on literature on the anthropology of infrastructure to investigate development, humanitarian technologies and the infrastructure of care that emerges alongside state and non-state services.

2.2 Social reproduction: Defining care in the household and the community

Feminist theorists have defined and applied the term social reproduction in diverse and contested ways in historical debates on production, sex, gender and domestic labour (Luxton, 2006). Social reproduction broadly denotes the “processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people, specifically the labouring population, and their labour power on a daily and generational basis” (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006). Bakker (2007: 541) distils the definition of social reproduction to three aspects:

(a) biological reproduction of the species, and the conditions and social constructions of motherhood; (b) the reproduction of the labour force which involves subsistence, education and training; and (c) the reproduction and provisioning of caring needs that may be wholly privatised within families and kinship networks or socialised to some degree through state supports.

This study focuses on the third aspect of social reproduction: the provision of care as privatised in the household, and socialised in the community through various state and non-state interventions. Care is understood as a form of labour which depends on the paid and unpaid, physical and emotional work of women (Bakker, 2007:541).

The provision of care involves “looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and development needs of one or more other people” (Standing, 2001: 17). Care work entails looking after children, the elderly and the ill. It incorporates the multitude of daily domestic chores women do such as fetching water, doing laundry, cooking and washing dishes.

Care also relates to the income-generating activities and livelihood strategies women rely on to support themselves and their households (Razavi, 2012).

Daly and Lewis (2000: 282) show how the concept of care is central to understanding the development of contemporary welfare states: “social care lies at the intersection of public and private (in the sense of both state/family and state/market provision); formal and informal; paid and unpaid; and provision in the form of cash and services”. Their analysis expands the concept of care from the narrow focus on women’s activities to include the “normative, economic and social frameworks” in which care is configured (Daly & Lewis, 2000: 285). It takes into account the way that the cost and responsibility of care is shared between the family, the market, the state and the voluntary or community sector (Daly & Lewis, 2000: 286).

This thesis employs the concept of care to understand women’s activities, responsibilities and relationships in the household and the role of state and NGO interventions in shaping care in poor communities. In this way, the concepts of social reproduction and care offers a basis for analysing how various stakeholders and institutions (planners, NGOs, municipal officials, community leaders and residents) interact and balance power to carry out the work involved in reproducing and maintaining people and infrastructure in Langrug (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006: 3).

2.3 Grants, migration and the structure of the household

In a study of household poverty in KwaZulu-Natal, Mosoetsa (2011) asks the critical question: “How do the poor survive”? She posits that it is often through the reliance on other poor people that the poor make ends meet. As part of navigating poverty, the complex interplay of grants, remittances and the migration of women are central.

Grants are a principal source of income in many poor households (Lund, 2008; Mosoetsa, 2011). In 2015, 45,5% of South African households reported receiving at least one grant (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Research has shown that the Government Older Person Grant provides many younger women with the means to migrate in search of work, leaving children behind in the care of a grandmother or other female household members (Ardington & Lund, 1995; Posel, 2001; Kok & Collinson, 2006; Hunter, 2007; Ardington, Case & Hosegood, 2009).

In turn, remittances from migrants are an important source of income to the households left behind. According to Posel (2001) remittance behaviour differs; questions of who remits, how often and how much pose a challenge to the way we imagine the household and the distribution of resources. The findings of her studies show that migrants tend to remit more when there are children present, suggesting that remittances are directed at individuals rather than any fixed household unit (Posel, 2001: 182).

The introduction of the Government Child Support Grant (CSG) in 1998 provided additional support to women and children. The CSG was designed to “follow the child” via the primary caregiver, it was initially allocated to children younger than 7 years and means tested to target children in very poor households (Lund 2008: 62, 64). Eligibility has since been extended to children 18 years or younger, though the value of the grant has declined in real terms (Budlender & Lund, 2011:941). In 2015, the CSG was set at R330 and administered to approximately 12 million individuals (SASSA, 2016). The majority of applicants are the biological mothers. Several studies have found that the CSG has contributed positively to school attendance and to the nutritional status of children (Budlender & Woolard, 2006; Coetzee, 2013). Budlender and Lund (2011:941)

note that the amount is so small that one would not expect it to impact on men and women's decisions to find work. However, one might expect that the CSG, like the older persons grant, contributes to women's ability to migrate and leave children in the care of other relatives.

While social grants play an important role in poverty-alleviation, many people are not eligible for social grants and have to rely on the grants of others. There is no guarantee that family or household members with grants will be willing to help. Access to other people's social grants is cut off when a pensioner dies or a child turns 18. Most grant recipients are women, and while a causal link between domestic violence and women's economic independence has not been proven, disputes over income with partners, brother or fathers certainly occur in poor households (Mosoetsa, 2011: 7).

Where public services fall short and private services are unaffordable, the household and women in the household pick up the need for care by default and by design (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006: 5). Through historical processes and social struggles, the household emerges as a complex social infrastructure, as Conell (1987: 121) writes:

Far from being the basis of society, the family is one of its most complex products. There is nothing simple about it. The interior of the family is a scene of multi-layered relationships folded over on each other like geological strata. In no other institution are relationships so extended in time, so intensive in contact, so dense in their interweaving of economics, emotion, power and resistance.

The household in South Africa is extended across multiple geographic locations, characterised by fluidity and often contains multiple generations (Ross, 1996; Spiegel, 1996; Spiegel, Watson & Wilkinson, 1996). Mosoetsa (2011) describes poor households as a "site of both stability and conflict". A product of historic marginalisation and the current crisis of social reproduction, many poor households are in a precarious state

(Mosoetsa, 2011: 1). The fluidity of households has implications for care and social reproduction, both for the household members that women leave behind and for migrants in the places where they live and work.

The migration of women plays a complex role in navigating the growing “crisis of social reproduction” (Fakier & Cock, 2009) that disproportionately affects poor households in South Africa (Fakier, 2010). Migration among women is not new in South Africa (see Walker, 1990; Bozzoli, 1991), but the influx of women into the labour market, coupled with women’s migration from rural areas to urban centres in post-apartheid years marked a significant change in the structure of the household (Budlender & Lund, 2011). Women migrants retain important economic and social links with their households of origin. These links provide benefits to destination and origin households, although the direction of these benefits are not always clear nor are they necessarily straightforwardly reciprocal.

In addition to economic factors, Posel and Casale (2003) suggest that “push factors” such as changes in the composition of households and women’s marital status also structure patterns of migration among women and thus contribute to shaping networks of care. The authors state that “women are more likely to migrate if they are not married and do not live with men – not only because there may be greater need for women to look for work but also because women have more freedom to move” (Posel & Casale, 2003: 466). A recent study of rural women’s migration in Kwa-Zulu Natal shows that women migrate upon a change in life-circumstances such as marriage, divorce or separation, but that the family-unit may still restrict their mobility (Camlin, Snow, Hosegood, Sciences, Francisco & Africa, 2014).

2.4 The social reproduction of a new political subjectivity

Historically, the household has played an important role in the reproduction of the labour force in South Africa. In his seminal article “Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa”, Harold Wolpe (1972) argues that the Apartheid-era homelands acted as labour reserves. Low wages paid to black African male workers were set partially on the assumption that rural households would sustain themselves via subsistence agriculture and that care for the young, elderly and ill would be delegated to women residing in the homelands. The result was the production of a system dependent on cheap migrant labour that persisted despite the erosion of the household in the homelands as an economic and social base.

Bozzoli (1983) critiques the passive acceptance of the household's role in production that Wolpe's (1972) analysis implies. She argues that the subordination of women within the household, and the subordination of the household to capital was not pre-given. Within the household, internal domestic struggles resulted in configurations of power that determined the distribution of and control over family income, home ownership, children, domestic chores and so on. At the same time, an external struggle between the domestic sphere and the wider capitalist system raised questions of “who benefits from the penetration of exchange relations into the domestic sphere” (Bozzoli, 1983: 147). The post-apartheid era raises new questions with regards to the relationship between production and reproduction and what this means for women.

The post-apartheid era witnessed the acceleration of the shift from an economy reliant on the cheap labour supply from the homelands, to one which no longer demands a large supply of low-wage and low-skill workers (Ferguson, 2015; see also Seekings & Nattrass,

2015). Given the persistence of high levels of unemployment and a surplus of labour, *who* is being maintained and reproduced? To answer this question, Ferguson (2015: 10) looks to the various welfare measures implemented in South Africa alongside neoliberal policies aimed at economic restructuring. He argues that the national system of social assistance, and the delivery of basic services constitute a new “politics of distribution” in South Africa. This economic and social restructuring has implications for the mechanisms of social reproduction:

In a labour scarce economy, even the most rural reaches of the southern African region could plausibly be understood as providing vitally needed labour reserves for a vast and encompassing system of production. Today, however, a restructured capitalism has even less need for the ready supply of low-wage, low-skilled labourers that the migrant labour system generated...insofar as today's social protection programmes do support a sort of social reproduction, it is the reproduction of precisely that class of people who have increasingly slim prospects of ever entering the labour market at all (Ferguson, 2015: 11,12).

In a labour surplus economy, an economy wherein many people are unemployed, the problem is not that people are subjected and exploited as cheap labour, but that “they have become not *worth* subjecting” and become waste in society (Ferguson, 2013: 231; Mbembe, 2014; see also Bauman, 2004). In these circumstances, the urban poor tend to rely on networks of dependence on other poor people; the better alternative is not autonomy but dependence on more powerful actors like the state or NGOs. Dependence offers a means of claim-making. The survival strategies of the poor create new political subjectivities and opens up new possibilities for political mobilisation (Ferguson, 2013; Ferguson, 2015: 14).

According to Ferguson's (2015) analysis, it is no longer the labour force, but a social class of people with no access to land or waged-employment that is reproduced and needs to

be maintained. Ferguson (2015) suggests that in Southern Africa and many other parts of the world, a new class of landless and jobless people is here to stay. While Ferguson acknowledges the resultant precariousness of the poor, he examines the alternatives presented by the social welfare system. The survival strategies of the poor and social assistance by the state constitute new “distributive practices and distributive politics” (Ferguson, 2015: 15). In this context, the poor claim access to resources, care and social personhood through “declarations of dependence” (Ferguson, 2013).

The mobilisation of the poor could be likened to Chatterjee’s (2004) concept of “political society” which describes how certain populations, outside the strict legal and civil boundaries of a state, make claims to government benefits. Chatterjee (2004) examines the techniques of governmentality targeted at populations within the nation state, and how these techniques are manipulated by the poor. He argues that while universal ideals continue to invigorate the project of development (in the state), its effect is demographically limited (Chatterjee, 2004: 39). The state is caught in a difficult bind. On the one hand, it has an obligation to provide for the welfare of populations; on the other, it cannot recognize the demands of certain groups on “the same footing as other civil associations following more legitimate pursuits” (Chatterjee, 2004: 41).

In order to claim benefits from the state, marginalised groups have to mobilise as political society. Claims are made on the state, not as individual citizens who belong to the modern democratic nation, but rather in terms of the state’s capacity to govern populations as targets of ameliorative policies. To effectively constitute political society two moves are necessary. One, a group of people seeking recognition as a population group must “find ways of investing their collective identity with moral content”. They must

be seen not merely as an empirical target or demographic category but as a *community*. Two, the “community” must find suitable mediators to engage the state on their behalf (Chatterjee, 2004: 57). These mediators could be local community leaders, teachers, ward councillors, humanitarian workers or planners as well as shack lords, money lenders and political fixers who facilitate interaction with the state.

While the state remains a central benefactor, international development and humanitarian agencies have emerged as powerful actors in their own right. Several studies of international development have shown how international institutions, humanitarian and grassroots organisations, Pentecostal Churches and NGOs step in to fill the gap left by a weak state, and in so-doing constitute new governing entities. The authors refer to these institutions as the embodiment of “horizontal sovereignties”, referring to the flattening and sharing of the responsibilities and roles previously fulfilled by the state (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Piot, 2010).

2.5 Caring for humanity: the role of community organizations in development

The NGO sector in South Africa is incorporated into the state development machinery (Van der Waal, 2008). Humanitarian and development interventions undertaken by NGOs in partnership with the state are not apolitical, but may demonstrate an “anti-politics” of care. In her book *Casualties of Care*, Ticktin (2011) describes the impact of two humanitarian clauses in France’s strict immigration policies that make an exception for immigrants who are very ill and those who have been victims of sexual violence. She argues that these clauses paradoxically turn conditions of suffering into desirable states of being, as immigrants fight to be seen as “morally legitimate suffering bodies” (Ticktin, 2011: 5). According to Ticktin, the regimes of care constituted by humanitarian clauses,

and the organisations who facilitate their implementation, close down possibilities for forms of collective action.

The anti-politics of care show how humanitarian intervention focused on suffering bodies reduces citizenship and rights to the domain of the biological. Immigrants may obtain a form of biological citizenship but they are prohibited from inclusion in other domains of political and social life. In this way “the politics of care” become an “anti-politics”: despite claiming to be apolitical, humanitarian organisations are an inextricable part of the larger political web that may uphold rather than challenge the status quo (Ticktin, 2011; see also Robins, 2009). While this thesis does not focus on humanitarianism *per se*, Ticktin’s analysis is useful to understand how development projects may hinder transformative politics and policies of care.

To provide basic care and social services to the population, partnering with the non-profit sector presents an attractive option for cash-strapped governments. Community-based programmes and voluntary organizations may receive small subsidies from government, but mainly rely on the unpaid and underpaid work of women in the community (Razavi & Staab, 2010: 419). In the wake of the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa, health care and social service providers relied on community-based programmes and community care workers to distribute care to the ill (Lund, 2010). The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) adopted the community-based approach to provide basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity to informal settlements.

Lund (2010) finds that care for children, the sick or the elderly that is incorporated into the EPWP is often paid less than jobs related to infrastructure. Similarly, Fakier (2014) shows the Community Works Programme relies on women’s care work in the community, while

offering very little economic return. She argues that the reliance on the unpaid and underpaid labour of poor women in communities allows the state to avoid taking up the responsibility for the provision of much-needed social services beyond cash assistance.

The 2012 National Development Plan (NDP) is based on ideals of independence, self-development and community-participation. The state imagines shirking its role as provider to a dependent population:

More work needs to be done to emphasise the responsibilities that citizens have in their own development and in working with others in society to resolve tensions and challenges. The refrain, “sit back and the state will deliver” must be challenged – it is neither realistic nor is it in keeping with South Africa’s system of government” (National Planning Commission, 2012: 28).

Despite the state’s crucial role in social protection and development through the provision and maintenance of infrastructure and basic services, job creation through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the provision of social assistance through government grants; development is increasingly seen as the responsibility of the “community” and the domain of NGOs.

The incorporation of NGOs, communities and local municipalities into the rubric of development raises questions of governance. Feldman and Ticktin (2010) investigate how the recipient of care and the target of intervention is imagined. They explore the salience of the universal category of “humanity” and the implications for governance:

It is not just changes in state power that opens up the space for NGOs to operate more expansively but also the articulation of their constituency as humanity. Humanity does not replace, but rather sometimes bypasses, other ways of dividing up government (Mitchell, 1999; Gupta 1995; Feldman 2008a). Nations, states, and borders all continue to exist and to shape government. And yet, the appeal to humanity – the claim to govern or to intervene on behalf of a universal humanity – permits the growth of governing technologies that operate at a different scale and with different targets (Feldman & Ticktin, 2010: 5-6).

Directing care towards humanity have implications for how problems are defined, the techniques of intervention and the allocation of resources. The humanitarian concern with humanity is paralleled by other universalisms such as democracy, citizenship, civil society and human rights. In South Africa the humanity that NGOs, civil society actors and social activists claim to serve take on the familiar figure of the similarly contested and universalised concept of community.

Development, particularly when directed at informal settlements, is centred around the idea of community participation. Criticism of the approach can be centred around two elements of “community participation”: namely, “community” and “participation”. Kepe (1999) writes that despite the popularity of the term in development rhetoric, it is often not clear exactly who the community is. The term becomes problematic if applied uncritically to denote the community as a coherent and conflict free social unit “since contests about approaches and resources occur in every social setting” (Thorton and Ramphela in Van der Waal, 2008: 60). As previously mentioned, a focus on the community often implies an overreliance on women’s unpaid and underpaid labour. The analysis by Sevenhuijsen, Bozalek, Gouws and Minnaar-McDonald (2003) of the 1997 White Paper for Social Welfare, is relevant to my example of the 2012 NDP. They argue that community programmes often rely on familial understandings of care that relegate the responsibility for care to women in the household, while hoping that participation will produce the male ideal of an “independent, self-reliant citizen” (Sevenhuijsen *et al.*, 2003: 313).

The ideal of participation has not, and does not, tend to live up to its promises of efficacy and empowerment. Cleaver (1999: 598) suggests that “there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most

vulnerable people or as a strategy for social change". Participation as a means of incorporating local knowledge is in practice a fleeting exercise that is incorporated into written documents through the work of experts (Green, 2009). Green (2010) argues that participation acts as a boundary object, an idea designed to bring stakeholders from different communities together, but that the transactions centred around this boundary object are fleeting and fundamentally unstable.

Cornwall (2003) discusses two historic approaches to issues of gender and women's role in development, namely the Gender and Development approach and the Women in Development approach. Whereas Women in Development, like many conventional participatory approaches, attempts to add participation to the agenda of development projects; alternative approaches like Gender and Development confront "issues of power, voice, agency and rights" (Cornwall, 2003: 1326). She argues that in order for participatory approaches to be effective it needs to take into account issues of difference and identity politics, as well as acknowledge and address imbalances of power (Cornwall, 2003: 1338). In South Africa, this would mean addressing inequalities based on race, class and gender; while recognizing that women may not share the same issues. It requires an engagement with the meaning of participation and "voluntarism" in the context of high levels of unemployment, where women may expect volunteering in community-based programmes to lead to paid employment (Razavi & Staab, 2010: 418).

Unlike the autonomous citizen imagined in the 2012 National Development Plan, the urban poor are in a position where they aspire to dependency (Ferguson, 2013). The poor must mobilise in order to claim the potential benefits offered by state and non-state programmes. Not all populations of the poor or members of the community have the

means and connections “to constitute themselves as deserving of political society” (Anand, 2011: 546). This thesis shows how it is often better-off individuals in poor communities, with established connections and some financial means, who succeed in claiming the benefits of development (Scherz, 2014).

2.6 Sanitation infrastructure and the study of care

As discussed in section 2.2, care entails “looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and development needs of one or more other people” (Standing, 2001: 17). Accordingly, the household can be thought of as part of the basic social infrastructure that facilitates the provisioning of care. The maintenance of the household may therefore be understood as the maintenance of a social infrastructure. Maintenance of the household can thus be further interpreted with Jackson’s (2014) concept of repair, which he conceptualises as “the subtle acts of care by which order and meaning in complex sociotechnical systems are maintained and transformed, human value is preserved and extended, and the complicated work of fitting to the varied circumstances of organizations, systems, and lives is accomplished” (Jackson, 2014: 222). Russel and Vinsel (2016) call the carers responsible for the upkeep of infrastructural systems “maintainers”. In a similar vein to Elyachar (2010), I think of women as “maintenance workers” in the social infrastructure of the household and the community. Elyachar (2010) studies the communication channels Egyptian women build to sustain family businesses, arrange wives for their sons and “get things done” on a daily basis. She argues that networks of communication produce a social infrastructure that is just as essential to city life as train tracks, drains and electricity lines (Elyachar, 2010: 454).

Chalfin (2014) studies communal toilet blocks in Tema, Ghana as vital centres of social life. Managed by neighbourhood associations, settlers reclaim the space as their own (Chalfin, 2014: 99). Toilet complexes become classrooms, crèches, recreational spaces, kitchens and community halls. She argues that these spaces invert the privatization of public life (Chalfin, 2014: 102). In a later article, Chalfin (2016) shifts her attention from public toilets to a massive toilet-complex in Tema, privately owned by a prominent businessman and community benefactor, Mr X. She analyses what social and political membership might mean outside the reach of the state. Similar to Tema's public communal toilets (Chalfin, 2014), Mr X's complex is a vital part of social life for settlers in the area. Unlike the public toilets, where tenuous configurations of neighbourhood associations and women's activities constitute a crude ground for elevation from 'bare survival' (Agamben, 1998), Mr X actively oversees and promotes the toilet complex as a common good that could benefit settlers on a significant scale. His "political experiment" not only relies on the infrastructure of the sanitation facilities but also on the infrastructure of the body. A bio-digester harvests methane from human waste which can be used as a fuel for cooking in the same toilet complex. In this configuration, the infrastructure of toilets, bodies and waste itself is "active political matter" that hold potential for the substantiation and maintenance of public life and the common good (Chalfin, 2016: 24).

A focus on sanitation sheds light on the role women play in maintaining physical infrastructures such as toilets, as well as the social infrastructure of the household and the community. The intersection of sanitation and care challenge the dichotomies of private and public, formal and informal, paid and unpaid care work.

Sanitation has recently emerged as an important social and political issue in South Africa. Service delivery protests have in recent years become a common phenomenon in informal settlements and have escalated since 2004 (Alexander, 2010; Hart, 2013). Political mobilisation around sanitation in the 2011 “Toilet Wars” in Cape Town transcended these ubiquitous local protests in terms of scale, media-attention and political response (Robins, 2014a). The revelation of unenclosed toilets in an informal settlement in the DA-governed metropole of Cape Town in 2011, as well as provinces under ANC control, led to an investigation by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) into water and sanitation conditions countrywide.

The report finds that women are particularly affected as caregivers, and there is inadequate access for persons with disabilities (SAHRC, 2014: 14). Despite promising figures, a lack of access to water and sanitation was reported in all provinces. This can be ascribed to a lack of infrastructure. Moreover, where infrastructure is provided it is not well maintained and monitored; toilets are frequently broken and may remain permanently out of order (SAHRC, 2014: 53).

Tensions around sanitation flared up again in 2013 when protesters threw faeces at the Premier of Western Cape Helen Zille’s convoy on the N2 highway in Cape Town. Protesters also flung faeces or strategically placed portaloos filled with excrement across the city. In these spectacular protest actions, waste from residents of informal settlements traversed the bounds of the township, crossing the N2 into wealthier suburbs and prominent public places such as the Bellville Civic Centre and the Cape Town International Airport, to the steps of the Western Cape legislature (Robins, 2014b,c).

The politics of shit has a longer history in Cape Town. Swanson (1977) describes the formation of the first locations for Africans outside of Cape Town at the beginning of the 20th century. The arrival of the bubonic plague on the city's shores exacerbated existing anxieties around a growing African working-class urban populace. Africans, believed to be the primary carriers of disease, were moved into the first location created at the sewage farm Uitvlugt (later known as Ndabeni), several miles from town on the Cape Flats. The configuration of sanitation as moral philosophy, saturated with race and class concerns and urban management issues, is what Swanson calls a "sanitation syndrome" (Swanson, 1977). The justification of similar segregationist policies based on racialized public health concerns is found in many colonial cities across the global South (See Anderson, 1995 on the Phillipines; McFarlane, 2008 on Bombay).

McFarlane and Silver (2016) discuss Cape Town's sanitation syndrome more than a century later. According to the authors, there are echoes of Swanson's account still visible in the city's landscape's and the political discourse on sanitation: vast inequalities are manifest in terms of the distribution of space and services, and city officials at times still suggest that poor sanitation conditions are the responsibility of residents in informal settlements. The political context is very different: the sanitation syndrome is no longer deployed by a colonial or apartheid government, but is shaped by various actors in a democratic regime – sensitive to the transgressions of the past. McFarlane and Silver (2016) describe modes of action – spectacle, auditing, sabotage and blockage – by different actors, social movements and community activists, residents and the state. They acknowledge, but exclude one important actor from the realm of "poo politics" – non-

governmental organisations who work with the state to upgrade basic infrastructure and services (McFarlane & Silver, 2016: 49).

Robins and Redfield (2016) offer insights into the role of humanitarian organisations in the politics of sanitation in Cape Town. They compare two competing imaginaries in relation to infrastructure in South Africa: humanitarian design which proposes innovative technical solutions to the global sanitation crisis, and the desire of the urban poor for services and infrastructure provided by the state. Humanitarian techniques of design gloss over complex histories and cultural norms related to waste and encounter friction in South Africa given the history of unequal development during apartheid (Redfield & Robins, 2016: 150-151). Despite these challenges, technologies that substitute state infrastructure in informal settlements may offer new grounds for claim-making.

This thesis studies how development, sanitation infrastructure, community politics and the household intersect to enable care and provide grounds for claim-making in Langrug. I draw on Jackson's call to "broken world thinking" (2014) to analyse how sanitation is maintained. Jackson regards breakdown and failure as an inevitable part of infrastructural systems and modern worlds. He argues that real creative work takes place not only in the moment of "innovation", but also in the commitment to the repair and reworking that it takes to fix glitches, negotiate alternatives and maintain systems (Jackson, 2014). In lieu of a critique of intervention and development that blames the failures of development on "neoliberalism" (Ferguson, 2010), bad faith, poor planning and "dirty" community politics, I foreground the practices of residents, community leaders, NGOs members, councillors and local politicians in their efforts to remake, repair and reimagine toilet facilities, especially when projects "fail" and development grinds to a halt.

I pay attention to women's practices of care in households that stretch beyond the bounds of a single informal settlement. Women's households are precarious and women's care-giving activities play an important role in the survival of the household. In Zwelitsha women participate in efforts to upgrade sanitation while still making use of inadequate facilities and open spaces to relieve themselves. NGO and state initiatives offer opportunities for a few well-connected residents, but many households cannot access the benefits of development. Mol, Moser and Pols (2010) define good care as the "persistence [of] tinkering in a world full of complex ambivalence and shifting tensions". Despite the absence of adequate sanitation facilities and the tangible presence of poverty, women persist in providing "good care" to children, household members and neighbours in the community.

Chapter 3 Research design

3.1. Introduction

This study applies a mixed methods approach to a case study of women and their households in Zwelitsha, a small section of the informal settlement Langrug in Franschhoek. It describes the care-giving activities women do in the context of poor sanitation conditions. Qualitative methods allowed me to understand the context and the nature of women's care-giving activities. Quantitative methods created a picture of common characteristics among women residing in Zwelitsha.

In addition to discussing and outlining the research methods used in this study, in this chapter I also discuss the pragmatic and ethical challenges that I encountered over the course of my research in Langrug. Pragmatic challenges mostly arose as a result of my choice of method – the choice to only recruit women as participants, and the later employment of these women as fieldworkers in a survey. Many of the ethical challenges relate to Langrug's unique "celebrity community" status, having garnered considerable media attention as a site of "successful informal settlement upgrading" (Tavener-Smith, 2012: 76). In reflecting on the research process, my aim is to move beyond a sanitised description of research methods to an analysis of the messy power relations in the field.

3.2. Questions of care in Zwelitsha

Zwelitsha is a manageable research site, suitable for a case study of small-scale interventions in sanitation and women's households. Langrug provides the broader context for the study of development and sanitation upgrading but as a recent site of

intervention, Zwelitsha offers the potential to examine how development projects evolve and the extent to which they benefit local residents. The study concentrates specifically on women's experiences of sanitation and care in Zwelitsha.

My fieldwork took place in 2015, two years after the conclusion of a three-year partnership between Stellenbosch Municipality, Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and the Langrug community. Pollution spurred the partnership, what Mary Douglas refers to as “matter out of place” (Douglas, 1976: 36). A neighbouring farm owner filed an interdict against Stellenbosch Municipality for the settlement's grey-water run-off polluting his irrigation dam. The court ordered the relocation of fourteen families in Langrug, forcing the municipality to enter into negotiations with the community (Fieuw, 2014: 19). The Langrug partnership committed R6 million to the upgrading of sanitation (Bradlow, 2013: 106; Moses, 2011). The Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC), the South African affiliate of Slum Dwellers International, oversaw the application of this funding which was used to install a sewerage system along the main road in Langrug.

The partnership excluded Zwelitsha as a target for sanitation upgrading. A blog entry on CORC's website reads: “Zwelitsha's steep incline and rocky terrain have made it extremely difficult to build water and sanitation points. To this end, Zwelitsha currently has only one tap and no toilets” (Kumar & Hendler, 2014a). CORC led the development of the Siphumelele dry WaSH facility in Zwelitsha. The installation of the new eco-friendly waterless toilet facility in the area aimed to change sanitation conditions.

I visited Langrug repeatedly over the course of eight months between March and November 2015. Trouble was brewing in the aftermath of the successful partnership as funds were drying up. New organisations came with new projects and old partners were

leaving. This case study originally focused only on the Zwelitsha WaSH facility, but as construction came to a halt, care emerged as an important concept to understand women's activities.

In Zwelitsha, women spend a significant portion of their days caring for other people and doing housework. Women's care-giving activities complement and sometimes substitute the efforts of NGOs, the municipality and community leaders to improve living conditions. Had I only attended community meetings (hosted by CORC), and interacted with prominent community members (affiliated to CORC), I would have missed the contribution women's everyday activities make to development. I selected the WaSH facility in Zwelitsha as a "critical case" of development alongside a study of women's everyday activities as a "typical case" of care (Patton, 2002: 236). In this context, I sought to answer three research questions:

- How do women care for, maintain and reproduce their households in Zwelitsha?
- How do poor sanitation conditions affect women's caregiving activities in their households and in the community?
- How do NGOs, the state, and community leaders care for the community in Langrug?

3.3. An eclectic approach to the study of care

One advantage of the case study design is that it allows for a holistic understanding and integrated analysis of complex real-world phenomena in context (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2009: 18). While the case study design is conventionally a qualitative research design, the use of mixed methods was well suited to address questions of care (Adelman,

Kemmis and Jenkins 1980, in Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009:19). The approach I followed is best described by Tashakkori & Teddlie (2010:5) as “methodological eclecticism”: it entails “selecting and then synergistically integrating the most appropriate techniques from a myriad of qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods to more thoroughly investigate a phenomenon of interest”. I developed a survey questionnaire based on women’s responses during a focus group and informal interviews. The survey questionnaire included a genogram to give an indication of the respondents’ extended household and a set of socio-economic questions (Appendix B: Survey questionnaire). I implemented the questionnaire in Zwelitsha with the assistance of female residents. In addition to survey methods, ethnographic methods such as participant observation in community meetings and informal interviews with women produced a questionnaire appropriate to the context (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989: 259). Mixed methods enabled a comprehensive analysis of care, sanitation and development (Bryman, 2006: 109; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:12) .

The study employed a sequential mixed methods sampling strategy (Teddlie & Yu, 2007: 90). Three separate samples were selected on three occasions: one for focus groups and one for informal interviews in the qualitative research phase and one for a survey in the quantitative research phase. In both the quantitative and the qualitative research phases, I used purposive sampling techniques in order to explore the structure of women’s households and how this influences care-giving. For the focus group, I recruited eight women residents from Zwelitsha above the age of 18 years who were literate and understood and spoke English, as I am unable to speak Xhosa. The criteria of literacy and language proficiency were added in order to select participants to later employ as

fieldworkers in the survey. A 2014 CORC enumeration estimated that there were 604 people residing in 318 structures in Zwelitsha (Kumar & Hendler, 2014a). My sample for the survey included 100 respondents: women over the age of 18 who are responsible for most of the household chores and care work in the home. Eight fieldworkers completed 93 survey questionnaires, of which 88 were used in analysis.

Onwuegbuzie & Collins (2007: 282) assert that “both random and non-random sampling can be used in quantitative and qualitative studies”. They argue that considerations of generalizability rather than strict paradigm conventions should inform sampling choices (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007 :282, 283). I had intended to draw a sample of at least 150 visiting points (about half of structures) to interview respondents 18 years and older using random sampling; every second house would be included in the survey (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 189). However, assuming that the genograms would yield rich data I decided prior to conducting the survey that a smaller sample of 100 respondents would be sufficient for the purpose of exploration (Denscombe, 2010). To select a random sample of 100 visiting points, every third dwelling would need to be selected.

Selecting a random sample proved difficult in the context of the study. The survey took place in November (mid-summer), during the time when seasonal work is available on the farms surrounding Langrug. Many men and women from Zwelitsha find temporary work in this time and are not at home during the day. The survey took place over the course of five days, of which three days were used for training. In order to interview 100 women in the limited time available, fieldworkers chose women who were home. The sample is therefore biased and the findings of the survey likely over-represent women who were not working at the time of the survey. The study also excluded men-only

dwelling. The results of the survey cannot be generalized to the broader population of Zwelitsha and only represent the households of the 88 women who were interviewed. While the use of a convenience sample is a shortcoming of the study, the results of the survey in combination with qualitative data present a picture of the structure of women's households and deepens the understanding of care and social reproduction in the homes of poor women living in an informal settlement.

3.4. The field is a maze of competing interests

Sarah Pink (1998:11) argues that little attention has been given to the extent to which development workers are "cultural producers who create aspects of the worlds they act on". Various development workers, researchers and state officials produced Langrug as a "celebrity-community" – a fertile ground for development. As an outsider in this space, I was dependent on several gatekeepers to facilitate access to the field.

My point of introduction to Langrug was through CORC, the South African affiliate of Slum Dwellers International. In early February 2015, my supervisor and I met with a member of CORC who had played a significant role in the Langrug partnership. I subsequently met a city planner from CORC who was involved in the building of the Siphumelele dry WaSH facility. I obtained privileged access to community meetings where I met key community members and partners involved with development projects. While useful, CORC's role as gatekeeper also created a slight hindrance. As a result of a change in leadership, the Director of CORC had not been aware of my research and I was forced to re-negotiate access to conduct the survey. Arranging the required meeting with the programme director of CORC delayed data collection by two weeks. The programme director redirected me to two community leaders with a longstanding involvement with

CORC in order to gain “permission” to conduct the study. I obtained informed consent to attend meetings related to the WaSH facilities.

In the recruitment process, I found that informal networks can prove equally or more influential than formal bureaucratic structures. Pink says (1998: 11) “the simplicity of this [hierarchical] power structure is deceiving. Power dynamics are inevitably uneven as the ‘formal’ power of the ‘development process’ interfaces with the ‘informal’ power that is integral to connections between the project and local community or town leaders, technical assistants, donors, and the lovers, friends, and families of all of these people”. I relied on one of the community leaders, Mr X, to recruit women as participants to the study. Mr X was well-connected to development workers and municipal officials and had the respect of the community. To him, I fit the mould of a researcher with resources and he was willing to help.

Mr X suggested that the “community” would hold a meeting – which I was not permitted to attend – where participants would be elected. This was problematic, as it would preclude my involvement in the process. The meeting never took place, but nonetheless the participants I met were Mr X’s recruits. At the first meeting with potential participants, I was presented with a mixed group of young men and women. Placed in a difficult position, I had to explain why I only wanted women as participants. My explanations were refuted with arguments based on culture: “If a husband answered the door he would not allow you to speak to his wife if a man wasn’t present”; and gender, men were needed “for protection”. Women remained mostly silent as men made their case for inclusion.

I had not set out to recruit participants aligned with a specific group, yet I had a sense that the participants that showed up were somehow part of Mr X’s political network. I

became aware of how participation in research was framed as a job opportunity by community leaders. Mr X, through his involvement in my research, was able to promise the participants he recruited access to a job. Certain gendered expectations came into play in the recruitment process. I recruited women to participate with the help of male community leaders, as this followed “proper protocol” in Langrug. It was unusual in this context to insist on working only with women, as there was an expectation that access to opportunity should be afforded to both men and women. Mr X was eager to win favour with residents – men and women – in the community, but at the same time had to keep me happy. Although men made arguments superficially based on gender, they appealed to me primarily as a researcher able to provide jobs, and not as a woman. In the same way, Mr X, despite preferring men to be included, conceded that it was “my research” and I should be able to do it how I wanted.

The negotiations to maintain access and recruit participants can be described as snowball or chain sampling: key informants at CORC introduced me to community leaders who in turn introduced me to women in Zwelitsha (Patton, 2002: 237). It was not a once-off series of encounters, I had to work constantly to maintain relationships. There were often new development workers to meet and community leaders to appease. Towards the end of my fieldwork, even the councillor of Langrug suggested I that I would need permission from the municipality to carry out the survey. The linear process suggested by the term “snowball or chain sampling” does not accurately reflect my experience in Langrug. The analogy of a maze is more fitting. In Langrug, the research-maze was replete with dead ends, gatekeepers, detours and new found pathways. It challenged the fiction of carefully planned research (Simpson, 2006: 7).

3.5. Mixing methods: A focus group, informal interviews and a survey

After the introductory meeting arranged by Mr X, I contacted the women who had attended and provided their contact details. I conducted only one focus group interview with the women who were recruited. I had expected that, as a woman, I would be able to relate to women and create some kind of rapport. I anticipated that participants would find it easier to talk about issues that may be construed as sensitive – such as menstruation. But I was unprepared for the stories women shared – of having to relieve themselves on the mountain slopes and using rags and washing pads when they menstruated. The difference in our living conditions were stark, and I was naïve to think that this would be easily bridged because I am a woman. The interaction between us was awkward and I struggled to elicit more than yes or no answers.

The focus group interview was unsuccessful as a method to elicit women's participation in this research project. The eight women who had participated in the first interview did not show up for our arranged meeting the following week. My attempts to arrange further focus group interviews were repeatedly frustrated. Women were perhaps not interested in the topic and could not see the use in discussing this. Alternatively, and more likely, the women did not feel that they would benefit from participation. Most women had other priorities and daily concerns to attend to. Since participation in these discussions were unpaid, women did not see any immediate returns for the use of their time.

I relied on Boniswa⁵, a woman who had participated in the focus group, to facilitate and translate informal interviews with women in Zwelitsha as they went about their daily

⁵Boniswa is a pseudonym used throughout the thesis.

chores⁶. Boniswa became a key informant. Her involvement with CORC positioned her as someone with insight into development projects in Langrug. As a woman residing in Langrug, she had first-hand experience of the challenges women face in the context of poor sanitation conditions. Her introductions constituted a form of snowball sampling which proved to be a more effective way to reach women in Zwelitsha. We interviewed six women. The interviews did not impose on women's time to the same extent as a focus group. Communication felt more natural as the conversations took place in a setting where women were comfortable – their own homes. The richness of the data collected during my walkabouts with Boniswa exceeded the curt replies elicited in the focus group. To develop a survey questionnaire, I followed a grounded indicator approach using qualitative data from the focus group and informal interviews to “generate, modify and validate its indicators” (Tucker, 2010: 318). The survey questionnaire consisted of three parts: a genogram or kinships chart which was used as a qualitative instrument to draw a map of the structure of women's households; socio-economic questions pertaining to characteristics of the household members, and; questions concerning the sanitation practices of resident women and their access to basic services.

I conducted a pilot study with five women over the course of three field visits in order to fine-tune the questionnaire and to test the feasibility of the survey given time and resource constraints (Strydom, 2005). The interviewees' responses enabled me to identify ambiguous questions and the questionnaire was found to be too long. I eliminated certain questions and adapted others to economise the questionnaire. Boniswa played an

⁶ Literacy and the ability to speak English were not requirements in informal interviews with women in Zwelitsha.

important role as a translator and facilitator, thus confirming my decision to employ fieldworkers from Zwelitsha. I was satisfied with the questionnaire and ready to begin training.

The survey took place over the course of five days between 9 and 18 November 2015. The first three days, survey training took place at a local community hall. Thirteen fieldworkers arrived on the first day. The fieldworkers were adult women, most of whom resided in Zwelitsha, who were literate but had not completed matric. The first day involved a discussion on research ethics, how to conduct an interview and an applied exercise to demonstrate the genogram. The fieldworkers drew genograms of one another's households. Every fieldworker had a chance to present her genogram to the group. We encouraged those who were hesitant at first and clapped hands after every presentation. The second day, fieldworkers completed questionnaires for their own household members who resided in Langrug. I reviewed their completed questionnaires and provided individual feedback. The final day of training involved another brief pilot study. Fieldworkers worked in pairs to interview several respondents in Zwelitsha. We had a debriefing session at the end of the day.

The survey interviews took place over the following two days, from 09:00 to 16:00 daily. The survey interview lasted about forty minutes and there were not enough resources to pay fieldworkers for more than five days of work. Eight fieldworkers conducted 93 interviews, of which 88 questionnaires were usable. Survey questionnaires and consent forms were translated by the Language Centre at Stellenbosch University. My supervisor, Jan Vorster, assisted with payment as translations are costly. I made use of printed questionnaires – 40 in Xhosa and 60 in English. Survey training used only English

questionnaires, due to a delay in translations. Fieldworkers reported that they preferred using the English questionnaire as some of the Xhosa translations were incorrect and not suitable to the context. Ideally, training should have been done with both Xhosa and English questionnaires, edited according to feedback from fieldworkers, and translated once more before the start of the survey. This was not possible due to translation costs and time constraints.

The survey provided an opportunity for ethnographic observations. I walked with the fieldworkers and observed several of the interviews. I jotted down notes which included observations of the houses, the routes we walked, the materials women used, food in the house, if there was electricity. I observed family photographs and the babies and children at home during the interview. Many women reported a lack of electricity as their biggest problem in Zwelitsha, yet I observed wires powering a kettle, a light bulb and at times a television. Treating the survey as ethnography allowed for greater reflexivity on my role as a researcher, the power relations at play during the research process and the complexity of the field.

3.6. Gender, race and money in participatory research

Feminist inquiry has made important contributions to social research not only to the question of “what” is studied, but to “how” research is conducted. One key contribution of feminist research is the centrality of the practice of reflexivity (Harding, 1987). According to Behar (1996: 13):

To assert that one is a ‘white middle-class woman’ ...is only interesting if one is able to draw deeper connections between one’s personal experience and the subject under study. That does not require a full-length autobiography, but it does require a keen understanding of what aspects of the self are the most important filters through which one perceives the world and, more particularly, the topic being studied.

My role as researcher in Langrug configured in varying ways with other aspects of my identity, such as race and gender and language. Certain aspects, such as my whiteness or my gender, maintained or mitigated social distance between myself and the people I researched.

One particular occurrence comes to mind. A documentary was being filmed of upgrading efforts in Langrug. As we walked amongst shacks, I found myself in the line of the filmmakers' shot. I was quickly instructed to move: "Sorry, we don't want any "whities" in our shot." Mr X later remarked that people (researchers, NGOs, filmmakers) come and go but they see little feedback to the community and no change in living conditions. He said that residents see them walking around with white people and think this means the leaders have money. It was not the case. The community leaders asked what I would "give back" to the community in doing this research.

My whiteness came into play in two ways here. Firstly, it marked me as an outsider. This was starkly illustrated by the filmmakers' desire to represent Langrug as an impoverished black township and so obscuring the common presence of white state officials, NGO members and researchers. Secondly, it indicated a position of power which is twofold. Historically, white people are privileged. Material and spatial inequalities along race and class lines are entrenched in Franschhoek. The wealthy farm and restaurant owners and town residents, are white and mostly Afrikaans, and as one resident in Langrug told me, "[in Franschhoek], we are Kaffirs[sic]". My whiteness also positioned me within the hierarchies of research and development work as someone with the means to "give back", as shown in the community leaders' comments.

Pink (1998: 11) challenges the hierarchy often implied in research and development work. She states that in research, the moral platitude of “giving something back” does little to address the exploitative nature of research. The researcher (writer and author) and researched (local subjects) remain locked into their roles. This forecloses possibilities for collaboration, and the ideal of shared research may appear to be unrealistic. I was directly confronted with the idea of exploitation in an encounter with Boniswa towards the end of my research.

I have already mentioned Boniswa’s role as an informant-participant. Initially I perceived Boniswa to be the ideal informant-participant commonly described in ethnographic studies. Then, in the pilot study of the survey, a misunderstanding arose between us concerning payment. I had arranged to meet Boniswa to pilot the questionnaire a last time. As I was about to leave for Langrug, Boniswa sent a text message: “There is no payment as we agree[d] with you? I don’t think I will be there, sorry”. I called Boniswa and invited her to a meeting with myself and Mr X. At the local community centre, we sat around a table in a dimly lit room. Boniswa avoided eye contact. She did not speak to me. Instead she spoke to Mr X in Xhosa. He translated and mediated. Boniswa said that I had said she would be paid. I agreed to pay her for the two days she had showed me around the settlement, and had helped me to test the questionnaire.

This encounter interrupted the amicable relationship I thought we had. The distance between us was made evident in multi-layered ways. Boniswa’s choice to speak in Xhosa placed emphasis on my position as an outsider who did not have the ability to speak the language. She addressed me via Mr X, a male community leader. This indicated that as a male leader, he had the authority to resolve this issue. She circumvented any rapport

we might share as women. Boniswa avoided eye contact during the discussion. Even though Boniswa's words and demands made reference to my economic power, I could not help but experience this encounter as racialized in the way it was set up. I was made to feel like a wealthy white person, thanklessly exploiting a poor black woman, even though I had not agreed to pay for the few hours Boniswa spent with me in Langrug.

I saw Boniswa again a week later when I began training for the survey questionnaire. She made lunch for the fieldworkers at R10 per person, this included two sandwiches and juice. Training lasted two days and recommenced the following week when the survey started, due to delays with translations. Boniswa was absent. I fetched the key to the community centre from her in a neighbouring area where she was working. She was part of a team cleaning the streets, likely a part of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) in the area. She wore a neon green vest, her face painted yellow to protect her skin against the harsh November sun. This encounter revealed the precariousness in which Boniswa lives. In her green vest, the power she had as a respected community member affiliated with development projects was concealed.

Loftsdóttir (2002: 311) reflects on her experience of doing research in Niger as an Icelandic anthropologist in the late 1990s. She states that for most Western development workers and researchers the "texture of the experience of being [white] in Niger is generally smooth and gentle". She explains that in the friendly interactions between locals and development workers, it is easy to forget the history of colonialism and the effect of this in the present. Historical configurations of race in South Africa are complex, and we are left with few tools with which to address our divided experience. The endurance of historical divisions had a direct bearing on my experience as a white South

African doing research on the margins of Franschhoek. I felt that my whiteness created a sense of distance that as a researcher I was not able to overcome.

My experience in Langrug prompted me to reflect on the nature of participatory research with women who had daily concerns vastly different than my own. Barbour (2007: 13) asserts that there are “limits to what can be achieved, even by the most overtly participatory research, and we should perhaps be mindful of the temptation to equate our own disciplinary interests with the political interests of those we research, whether we see ourselves as researching ‘on’ or ‘with’ them”. In this research process, I have realised that the ideal method of participatory research does not acknowledge the complexity of relationships that may have been established prior to the researcher entering the field. Participation does not always occur at the individual level, researcher to participant, but requires the researcher to interact within a broader social context and history.

In Langrug, research and development projects often offer the opportunity for payment and access to temporary jobs. In this context, payment to fieldworkers was an ethically sound way to compensate women for work done, and time spent, as well as a way of acknowledging the uneven power relationship that exists between myself and women residing in Zwelitsha (Thompson, 1996). However, this did not necessarily produce a relationship of equals. Rather, payment served to reinforce the hierarchy between myself as an educated, white, middle-class woman and the young black unemployed women fieldworkers. To an extent research does become commodified, and payment might reduce participants and researchers’ belief in the “common good” of research (Chamber, 2001: 48; Head, 2009: 342).

I paid R120 to each fieldworker per day for training and interviews completed. I paid R150 in cash to each fieldworker on the last day of the survey. I believe the amount paid was acceptable according to local standards, offered a fair return in exchange for fieldworkers' time and was not coercive (Grady, 2001: 40; Head, 2009: 340). Training lasted about five hours per day for three days and the interviews about seven hours per day for two days. I provided lunch daily, as well as stationary that participants could keep. Several women, who had participated in training withdrew from the study because of other personal commitments and did not conduct survey interviews. Women who withdrew as fieldworkers asked to be compensated for participating in training. I paid R200 to each woman that withdrew. Survey respondents were not paid.

It is necessary to consider the implication of monetary compensation in mixed methods research, where research often takes place in two or more phases: when is it appropriate to pay for participation? In my own research, the qualitative and quantitative stages of research were continuous over a three-month period, and located in a small section of an informal settlement. In this context it would have made more sense to pay women who participated at all stages of the research process instead of expecting participation in focus group sessions while reserving payment only for fieldworkers in the survey. Cash payments could have been used to recruit the most vulnerable and marginalised women in Zwelitsha to participate in focus groups. Instead, only women who could read and write and understand English were selected as fieldworkers for the survey. Finally, the decision to pay participants must be considered at every stage of the research process, as methods inevitably evolve and change in the field. I could not deny that participants wanted and expected payment for participation. Their expectation impacted on the

possibilities for developing a non-hierarchical relationship, which remained tethered to the terms of payment.

3.7. The ethics of care in research

“Fieldwork itself is an ethical adventure, a trial or journey; in the course of encountering the ethical demands of fieldwork we continue the cultivation of our own ethical dispositions” (Lambek, 2012: 143).

The Human Research (Humanities) Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University approved the study as low risk (proposal #: SU-HSD-001040). Ethical review boards like the Human Research Ethics Committee are typically situated within a biomedical paradigm which promotes value-free neutrality in research (Christians, 2005: 147). However, the messy realities of the field compelled me to relinquish my commitment to scientific objectivity and the illusion of authority. The decisions I were required to make in the field, and the relationships I became part of, required an engagement with ethics which exceeded institutional codes organized around the principles of informed consent, deception, confidentiality and accuracy (Christians, 2005: 145).

To Lambek (2012: 141), the appeal of codes of ethics and review boards *“for researchers* is as a means to stave off anxiety”. Consent forms (Appendix A: Informed consent forms - Information sheet, focus group/fieldworker, survey) proved insufficient to ease my anxieties; which included an awareness of the inequalities between myself and women in Langrug, and my insecurity as a novice researcher in an unfamiliar field (Lambek, 2012: 142). The documents did not seem to produce any respect for the purpose of my research on the part of the participants either. I recall an anecdote from a focus group with women in the Zwelitsha WaSH facility when, in response to a question on the materials women

use to clean themselves after they defecate (like toilet paper), one woman quipped, consent form in hand: “Even this one, I can use”. Her reply elicited laughter from the group. To me it revealed the destiny of my consent forms and made me reconsider the appropriateness of forms in the performance of ethics.

It was not the formal process of ethical clearance nor consent forms, but rather the intimacies of the field that held me accountable to the women I researched (Lambek, 2012: 144). Alongside research questions related to women’s care-giving activities in Zwelitsha, questions emerged in relation to my own “ethics of care” during the research process: How do I care about the people who I research? How do I care about the product of my research? And also, how do I as researcher, take care of myself in the field? This thesis will show that for women in Zwelitsha, care takes work. On my part, good care in research required “persistent tinkering” too (Mol, Moser, & Pols, 2010: 43).

Feminist research on the ethics or morality of care foregrounds issues of voice (Gilligan, 1983) and responsibility (Noddings, 2003) in human relationships. Denzin (1997, 2003) considers the implications of care for research in his theory of “feminist communitarianism”. Feminist communitarianism is committed to community transformation through shared ownership of the research process. It recognizes the deep inter-connectedness of humanity (Christians, 2005: 71). While the study aimed to foster a sense of mutuality and trust in the research process, the theory of feminist communitarianism did not help me to make sense of the fraught relationships I had faced with fieldworkers. The social and historical differences between us challenged idealised and gendered ideas of care and ethics.

To make sense of relationships in the field, I draw on Sevenhuijsen's (1998) idea of care as practice-based and contextual:

First of all, the ethics of care involves different moral concepts: responsibilities and relationships rather than rules and rights. Secondly, it is bound to concrete situations rather than being formal and abstract. And thirdly, the ethics of care can be described as a moral activity, the 'activity of caring', rather than as a set of principles which can simply be followed.

During my research in Langrug, a relationship of care between myself and the research participants did not occur naturally or effortlessly. It was bound to everyday interactions in a specific context as opposed to universalist notions of humanity or womanhood. Simple activities such as having lunch with the fieldworkers, sharing personal stories about my life, and giving one participants' brother a lift to a neighbouring town constituted an ethics of care in the field.

Feminist value-based research adopts a stance which "admits emotion into the ethical process" (Edwards & Mauthner, 2002: 21; see also Porter, 1999). The research process demanded an engagement with emotion to develop empathy. Emotions of anger, frustration, guilt, anxiety, relief, contentment and triumph characterised the going-to and coming-back from the field. It is through a commitment to the research process that I was able to establish an empathetic understanding and meaningful, if temporary, relationships in the field.

Regarding beneficence, the specificity of care Sevenhuijsen (1998) describes challenges ideas about the "common good" of research. Relationships in research, as in practices of care, are tied to power. In Langrug, the common good was established not through

“the complete morality of every participant...but [through] a set of agreements among people who typically hold other, less widely shared ethical beliefs” (Bok, 1995: 99).

For a short time, I was part of the ethics and politics of Langrug. It required navigating competing interests in an over-researched field, building precarious relationships with community leaders and participants, paying fieldworkers, engaging empathetically with women in poverty and ultimately finding a way to represent the experience in the constraints of an academic thesis. To quote Simpson (2006:5): “you don’t do fieldwork, fieldwork does you”.

Chapter 4 Networks of care in and beyond Zwelitsha

4.1 Introduction

Development in the form of low-cost housing projects started as early as 2000 in the area surrounding Langrug. The Langrug partnership upgraded sanitation services in Langrug between 2011 and 2013, and in 2014 Zwelitsha became the site of the most recent intervention in sanitation when construction of an eco-friendly dry WaSH facility began. The next chapter discusses the fate of recent interventions in the wake of the Langrug partnership and the “development hype” it produced. In this chapter, I elaborate briefly on the early development history of the area to show how the approach to development has changed. The legacy of the projects and partnerships and the infrastructure they leave behind continue to feature in the everyday lives of residents in Langrug.

Many households who do not benefit directly from development projects are caught in a state of “permanent temporariness” as they wait for the promises of democracy, to be delivered in the form of a house, or a toilet (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). The question arises, what do people do in the meantime? As Mosoetsa (2010) asks: “how do the poor survive”? I argue, in line with Mosoetsa (2011) and Ferguson (2013) that poor women survive through dependence on others in the household as well as connections to benefactors outside of the household. The analysis of households in Zwelitsha show how women’s “networks of care” can act as a saving grace in the context of limited access to basic sanitation services, and scarce job opportunities in Franschhoek. A discussion of the demographics of women and their households, household income and the mobility of

residents in the area provide a picture of the role women play in social reproduction in Zwelitsha.

I report and discuss results from a survey of 88 households in Zwelitsha in combination with accounts of ethnographic observations and informal interviews with women. Vignettes of individual women are drawn from the qualitative research phase. Genograms were used as an additional qualitative tool in the survey interview to present a diagram of the extended household comprised of members who stay in Zwelitsha and those who live elsewhere. According to Bryman (2006), mixed methods researchers often find it difficult to integrate and present findings as a coherent whole. Fetters, Curry and Creswell (2013) give guidance on how and when methods can be integrated and presented. Two of their methods of integration are useful here: “integration through narrative” and “integrating through data transformation”. Data are integrated in the narrative using a “weaving approach”; qualitative and quantitative findings are presented on a theme-by-theme or issue-by-issue basis (Fetters *et al.*, 2013). Integration through data transformation entailed the coding of genograms to represent people who form part of the respondents’ care networks.

4.1. The history of development in and around Langrug

In 1992 seasonal labourers working on surrounding farms and construction sites established Langrug (Fieuw, 2014: 19). The settlement is situated in Franschhoek North above the historically coloured neighbourhood, Groendal. A remnant of apartheid planning, Groendal was first home to victims of forced removals from the whites-only designated town Franschhoek in the mid-1950s and early 1960s. Post-1994, several community activists in Groendal mobilised to obtain land restitution for the coloured

inhabitants who had been relocated from the main town Franschhoek South, to Franschhoek North (Hofstatter, 2005) .

To “fast-track” restitution to the claimants, in 1998 the Franschhoek Municipality, members of the community and private enterprises signed a ‘Social Accord’ that led to the formation of the Franschhoek Empowerment and Development Initiative (FEDI) in 2000. The ‘Social Accord’ and FEDI focused on housing as an intervention to address the spatial divisions in Franschhoek after apartheid. The resulting public-private-community partnership initiated a project in which high-cost development on public land in Franschhoek South (known as the commonage) was used to fund the construction of low-cost housing in Franschhoek North. Franschhoek Municipality sold the commonage (Picture 4.1.) for the development of the Fransche Hoek Estate (French corner estate) a luxury wine estate, plastic surgery practice and tourism centre (Willemse, 2008; Laar, Cottyn, Donaldson, Zoomers & Ferreira, 2014: 193). The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) provided additional funds to purchase Mooiwater farm, close to Groendal, as the location for the new low-cost housing development (Hofstatter, 2005; Johnston, 2006).

The Mooiwater development replaced the notorious squatter settlement Vietnam. As a condition of the project, illegal squatters had to dismantle their shacks and sell their materials to the council in exchange for title deeds. The new home-owners entered into a social agreement in which residents found guilty of criminal activities could be expelled from the community. Residents could obtain a free basic structure worth more than a

Picture 4.1 Franschhoek North and South: Langrug, Mooiwater and the Commonage



Source: Willemse (2008) adapted from *Urban dynamics 2008*

conventional RDP⁷ house at the time, but had to agree to pay for basic services (Hofstatter, 2005). In 2003, the last title deeds of the 771 housing units were handed over to residents. The hand-over coincided with discussions about building between 300 and 500 houses in Langrug; at the time it proved to be empty promises (“Laaste huise van Mooiwater afgegee”, 2003; Kruger, 2009).

The roll out of low-cost housing programmes in South Africa has been successful in its own right; however, it does not provide a basis for sustained development or the potential for a more integrated city. The only affordable land is often on the outskirts of a town or city, removed from services and central economic networks (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010: 154). The 1998 ‘Social Accord’ and resulting housing development did little to realise the

⁷ As part of the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme, low-cost housing schemes were rolled out country-wide to provide basic accommodation to poor households (Van der Waal, 2008: 64)

vision of a more integrated town (van Laar *et al.*, 2014: 201). The commonage in Franschhoek South was deemed too expensive for the development of low-cost housing and instead Mooiwater next to Groendal in Franschhoek North was chosen as the site of development (Johnston, 2006). In this way racial and spatial boundaries remained securely in place, with working-class coloured and black African residents located at a safe distance from the elite Franschhoek town.

In 2000 after a transitional period, Franschhoek was incorporated into Stellenbosch Municipality (Nicks, 2012: 36). The vision of improving Langrug only came to fruition in 2011 when the Langrug partnership was formed. The Langrug partnership prioritised sanitation and service upgrading. The approach reflected a shift in informal settlement housing policy in South Africa. The 2004 “Breaking New Ground” (BNG) comprehensive plan for housing delivery, now part 3 of the National Housing code, focuses on the incremental *in situ* upgrading of settlements, “assist[ing] the municipality in fast-tracking the provision of security of tenure, basic municipal services, social and economic amenities and the empowerment of residents in informal settlements to take control of housing development directly applicable to them” (Department of Housing (DoH), 2004). David Carolissen, the key municipal official in the Langrug partnership said that despite a policy focus on the upgrading of basic infrastructure and services in informal settlements, in many ways “policy is still designed to deliver a house” (Carolissen in Tavener-Smith, 2012: 73). The Langrug partnership and subsequent interventions in sanitation have the potential to improve living conditions in Langrug, but as the next chapter will show, the benefits of development projects are not equally shared.

The discussion of development in Franschhoek North is relevant to the story of women's households in Zwelitsha. The study explores how development projects and the infrastructures they leave behind affect women's everyday lives in Zwelitsha more than a decade after the Mooiwater partnership and two years after the Langrug partnership. Several women I spoke to in informal interviews said that they found accommodation in Mooiwater when they first moved to Franschhoek. Their primary-school children attend Dalubuhle School in Mooiwater. Akhona's story (Vignette 4.1.) illustrates how mobility between Mooiwater and Zwelitsha is used as a livelihood strategy when the costs of formal housing are too expensive.

Akhona moved with her husband and their daughter from the Eastern Cape to Franschhoek. After their arrival, they managed to rent one of the RDP-like houses in the Mooiwater development. However, they found paying for services in Mooiwater⁸ to be too expensive and instead moved to a shack in Zwelitsha where services are cheaper or free, when accessed illegally. In Akhona's case, intra-urban migration is a livelihood or

Vignette 4.1 Akhona

Akhona is 33 years old, she has been living in Zwelitsha with her husband and her daughter for 2 years. When they first moved to the area they rented a house in Mooiwater, an adjacent neighbourhood. However, paying for services such as water and electricity became too expensive and they decided to move to Zwelitsha. Her husband works in Franschhoek on surrounding farms in "season" (which usually starts around September). Her daughter is ten years old and goes to school in Mooiwater.

⁸ Although residents in RDP houses do not usually pay for services, as stated earlier, residents in Mooiwater had to agree to pay for services in order to acquire a larger house in the Mooiwater development (Hofstatter, 2005).

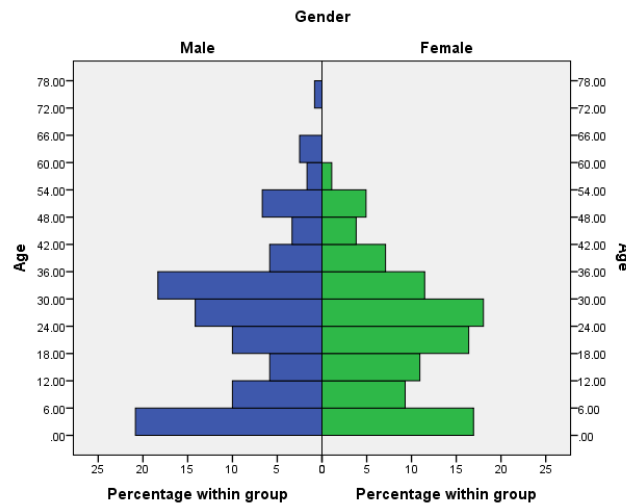
survival strategy in response to poverty processes at the household level (Todes, Kok, Wentzel, van Zyl & Cross, 2010).

Akhona's story leads us into Zwelitsha, one of the poorest sections in the area. One city planner from the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) said it is where most temporary farm workers reside, many of whom are unemployed for large parts of the year. Despite interventions in housing and sanitation in Mooiwater and Langrug respectively, households in Zwelitsha are still severely affected by poverty and unemployment.

4.2. The state of women's households in Zwelitsha

4.1.1 Description of the sample – age, gender and migration

Figure 4.1 Sample Distribution of Age by Gender in Zwelitsha (N=304)

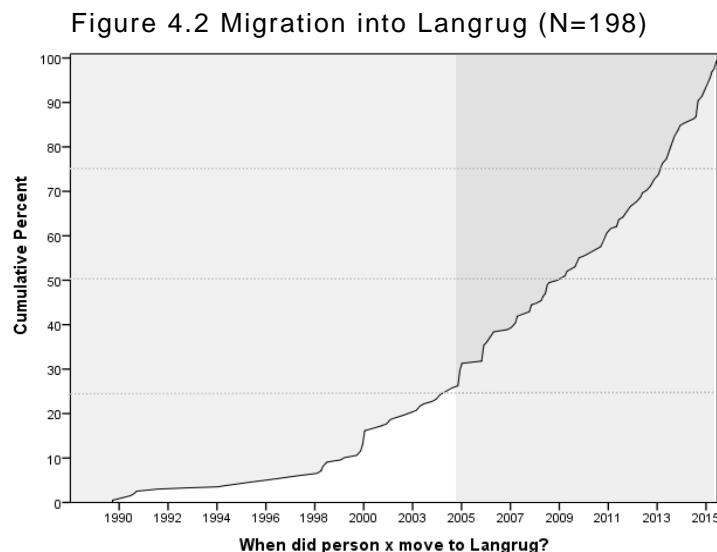


Number of men =125, number of women = 188

Zwelitsha houses a population of young black African adults, most of whom migrated to the area from the Eastern Cape (see Figure 4.2 and Table 4.1). Figure 4.1. represents the age distribution of men and women in intervals of six years. Six-year intervals were

used to account for sampling variation given the small sample size ($N = 304$)⁹. Approximately 50% of residents in the sample are 23 years old or younger ($M=23$ years, $SD=15$ years). The sample consists of 40% men and 60% women. Many young children aged six years and younger (17% of women and 20% of men) and relatively few older children between the ages of seven and eighteen years reside in Zwelitsha (approximately 20% of women and 17% of men). Young adults between the ages of 18 and 36 years make up 42% of the total sample. The sample contains very few older adults with 19% of men and 16% of women falling in the age category of 37 to 54 years, and only 1% of women and 5% of men above the age of 55 years recorded in the sample.

Figure 4.2 shows a concentration curve which relates the cumulative percentage of residents aged 15 or older captured in the sample (represented on the y-axis) that moved to Langrug or the surrounding area on or prior to each date between 1990 and 2015 (represented on the x-axis). To illustrate how this figure may be interpreted, it can be



⁹ $N = 304$ encompasses the subset of the 315 respondents who reported both their age and gender.

ascertained from figure 4.2 that the longest-standing residents captured in the sample moved to the area prior to 1991 (i.e. between 1990 and 1992 on the x-axis of the figure), and that these residents account for approximately 3% (i.e. the corresponding value on the y-axis) of those captured in the sample. The shaded area represents the period after the establishment of Zwelitsha, the site of the survey, which occurred approximately in 2005 (ISN, Stellenbosch Municipality, Community Leadership & CORC, 2011: 11).

The gradient of the curve depicted in figure 4.2 increases over time, indicating that newer residents comprise a high proportion of those captured in the sample. The first, second and third quartiles of the distribution of sample respondents approximately correspond to the years 2004, 2009 and 2013 respectively. Based on the position of the second quartile, it can be ascertained that the most recently-settled 50% of residents moved to the area within the 7 years preceding the survey (between 2009 and 2015), whereas the longest-standing 50% of residents moved to the area within the first 19 years reported (between 1990 and 2009). Furthermore, the most recently-settled 25% of residents captured in the sample (i.e. those falling above the third quartile) moved to the area between 2013 and 2015, whereas the longest-standing 25% of residents captured in the sample (i.e. those falling under the first quartile) moved to the area between 1990 and 2004. Note that the first quartile of respondents comprises those who must have moved to Zwelitsha, the site of the interview, from the surrounding area.

Clearly the sample is comprised of a high proportion of recently-settled residents and a small proportion of residents who relocated to Zwelitsha from Langrug and other surrounding areas. This finding likely reflects that as the most recently-established section

of Langrug, Zwelitsha would be expected to service a higher proportion of newly-settled residents than do other sections of Langrug.

Table 4.1 Previous location before moving to Zwelitsha (15 years and older)

	Frequency	Percent
Eastern Cape	113	57
Elsewhere in the Western Cape	57	29
Other area in Langrug	11	5.5
Other in SA	16	8
Outside SA	1	0.5
Total	198	100

Table 4.1 shows that most residents above the age of 15 years (57%) captured in the sample moved to Langrug directly from the Eastern Cape. Several residents (29%) had already been living in other areas in the Western Cape before moving to Langrug. Some residents (5.5%) moved to Zwelitsha from other areas in Langrug, such as the established sections of Enkanini and Mandela Park. Finally, a few residents (8%) moved from elsewhere in South Africa and only one resident was recorded as coming from outside of South Africa.

If only residents who moved directly from the Eastern Cape are considered (N=113), the most frequent reason given for moving away from their previous location is a lack of suitable employment (73%). The most frequent reasons given for moving to Zwelitsha is reported as having no choice in moving to the area (30%), the potential for better housing opportunities (28%) and it is perceived as having better employment opportunities (17%). Dire circumstances in the Eastern Cape may compel people to move to the Western Cape in pursuit of a better standard of living; it is interesting to note that most people responded that they had “no choice” in moving to Zwelitsha.

4.1.2 The women of Zwelitsha

A typical adult woman in Zwelitsha (as captured in the sample) is young, she has a child, and she is either single (27%), married by traditional law (31%) or living with a partner (26%). She will most likely not have finished school, and relies on temporary work throughout the year. The survey finds that approximately 50% of women in Zwelitsha are 30 years old and younger ($M = 32$ years, $SD = 9$ years). Ninety-four percent of the respondents have children ($N = 83$, 5 missing cases). Most women do not have many children; of those who reported having children ($N = 71$), 50% of women have two children or less (1 child = 32% of women, 2 children = 23%, 3 children = 14% and 4 or more = 31%). Fifteen percent of women finished matric and only one woman obtained a diploma. Most women who did not complete matric (84%) say the reason they left school is because there was no money (58%). Some women (7%) left school due to pregnancy. In 2015, about 55% of women reported having a job in the previous year. The main kind of work women ($N = 48$) were involved in was farm work (54%). Other kinds of work included domestic work (8%), working in a shop (9%) and working in a restaurant (5%).

While the results from the survey interviews with 88 women above the age of 18 tell the story of the typical woman, vignettes drawn from qualitative interviews with Boniswa, Esihle and Faniswa depict the complexity and richness of women's lives beyond statistical descriptions. Esihle and Faniswa participated in the focus group and as fieldworkers in the survey, Boniswa acted as a key informant and translator in interviews with women.

Vignette 4.2 Esihle and Faniswa

Esihle and Faniswa are friends, they are both in their early twenties. They each have one child who they had as teenagers and neither of them finished school. They are not currently working. Esihle lives with her child and 18-year-old brother who is a temporary worker on a farm in the area. He has problems with drugs and finds work from time to time. Esihle's mother sometimes sends money to her and her brother. Faniswa lives with her mother who is very sick and her young daughter in a one-bedroom shack. She takes care of her mother and her child.

Vignette 4.3 Boniswa

Boniswa is 35 years old. She came to Franschhoek in 1998. In 2004, she moved to Khayelitsha, Cape Town with her husband. They returned to Langrug in 2009. Her husband has a permanent job at a factory. She has three children who live with her mother in the Eastern Cape. The Child Support Grants the three children receive, go to their grandmother who is their main caregiver. Boniswa relies on intermittent job opportunities, she has volunteered for CORC and has worked as part of the government's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).

Boniswa, a woman in her mid-thirties, is better off than Esihle and Faniswa who are in their early twenties. Boniswa can rely on the financial support of her husband who has a steady income and the support of her mother in the Eastern Cape to take care of her children. She does not have a permanent job and while it puts her in a precarious position, she is well-connected to CORC and registered to the Expanded Public Works Programme.

Esihle and Faniswa share characteristics with the typical woman in Zwelitsha. The Child Support Grant they receive is their only steady source of income. Esihle and her brother can pool income from jobs if they can find it and sometimes receive contributions from

their mother in the Eastern Cape. Faniswa does not have any family outside of Zwelitsha, she is the main breadwinner in the household and the only caregiver to her son and her mother. Esihle and Faniswa both have weak and limited support networks.

4.1.3 Networks of care beyond Zwelitsha

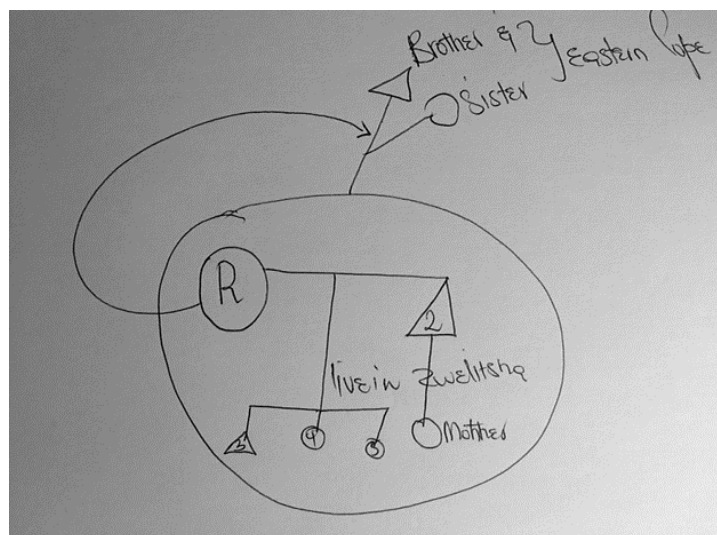
Fakier (2010: 108) argues that the common survey definition of the household as “a person, or a group of persons, who occupy a common dwelling unit for at least four days in a week, and who provide themselves with food and other essentials for living” is inadequate as it obscures migrants’ contributions to the household. Instead she opts for Smith and Wallerstein’s (1992:13 in Fakier, 2010) definition of the household as “the social unit that...enables individuals of varying ages of both sexes, to pool income from multiple sources in order to ensure their individual and collective reproduction and well-being”. Following from Fakier (2010: 108) and Smith and Wallerstein (1992:13 in Fakier, 2010), I interpret the household as a “network of care” within which women can share income, as well other costs and responsibilities of care (Daly & Lewis, 2000b).

The use of genograms in the survey aimed to show how care networks stretch beyond the borders of Zwelitsha to include people elsewhere to whom women contribute. Fieldworkers began the survey interview by drawing a genogram (or kinship chart) of the respondent’s household. Fieldworkers asked the following questions and drew the genogram corresponding to the respondent’s answers: Who lives here most of the year? Are there others that live here (in Zwelitsha) at times during the year? Do you (the respondent) make contributions to others living elsewhere? Do you (the respondent) receive contributions from others living elsewhere? The fieldworkers then drew a circle

around those individuals who stayed in Zwelitsha for most of the year (Appendix B: Survey questionnaire).

The genogram aimed to capture the networks of care shared by the extended household. It gives an indication of the gender of the other household members, and their relationship to the respondent. Unfortunately, the ages of individuals living outside of Zwelitsha were not recorded. In constructing the genograms, the fieldworkers did not draw or record information on the directions of care or the kinds of care and contributions women provide to or receive from others elsewhere. Survey questions compensated for omissions in the genogram by providing information on whether respondents make contributions to people elsewhere and the kinds of contributions they make (See questions H1 to H6). Picture 4.2. illustrates that the respondent lives with her partner, their three children (one boy and two girls) and her mother in Zwelitsha. She also has a brother and sister who live in the Eastern Cape.

Picture 4.2 Genogram of a household in Zwelitsha



The genograms of 88 households were recorded. Forty percent (52) of respondents reported having household members who live outside of Zwelitsha, whereas 60% (36) of respondents only noted the people they live with in Zwelitsha (Table 4.2). The profiles of the 52 households who report members living outside of Zwelitsha show who lives in Zwelitsha and who lives elsewhere (Figure 4.3 and 4.4).

Table 4.2 Zwelitsha and broader household

	Frequency	Percent
Zwelitsha household only	36	41
Zwelitsha household and elsewhere	52	59
Total	88	100

Figure 4.3. shows that 52 (40%) of the respondents live with a husband or a partner (27%), a son or a daughter (59%), a brother and a sister (9%), a parent (1.5%) and other relatives (3%) in a dwelling in Zwelitsha. Figure 4.4. shows that the people to whom the respondent has a connection outside of Zwelitsha consist of parents (40%), children (10%), siblings (44%) and a few other related (2%) and non-related people (5%). Although the location of the household members outside of Zwelitsha was not well recorded (N=105, 37 missing cases), the results suggest that the majority of the people (57%) to whom the respondent is connected live in the Eastern Cape. This finding is consistent with the migration data previously discussed that finds that a large percentage of people above the age of 15 years (57%) moved to the Langrug area from the Eastern Cape.

Figure 4.4 Household in Zwelitsha (N=139)

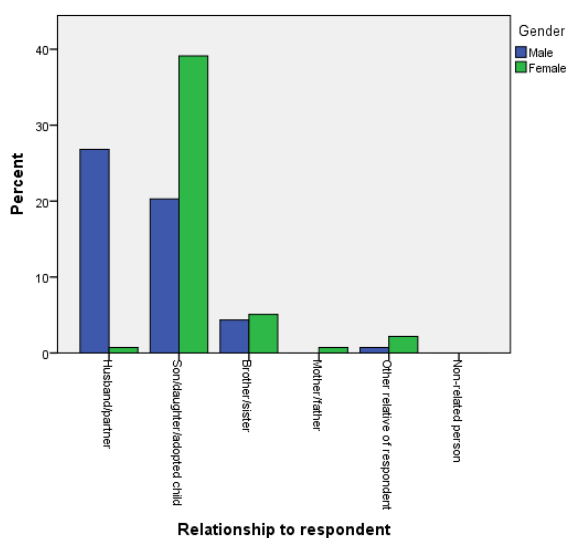


Figure 4.3 Household members living outside of Zwelitsha (N=105)

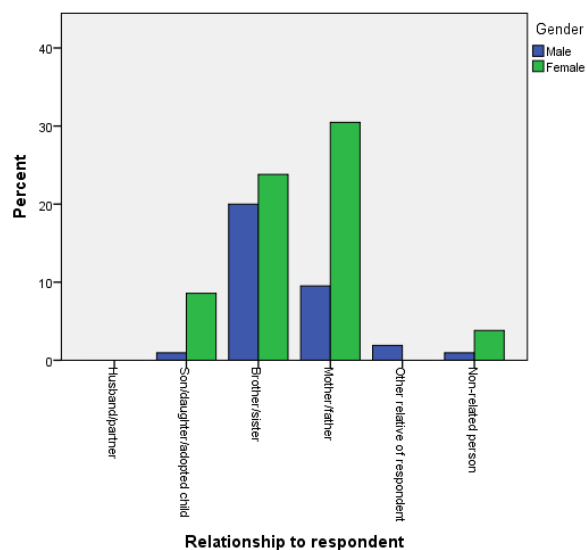


Table 4.3 Women who contribute to children and other people outside of Zwelitsha

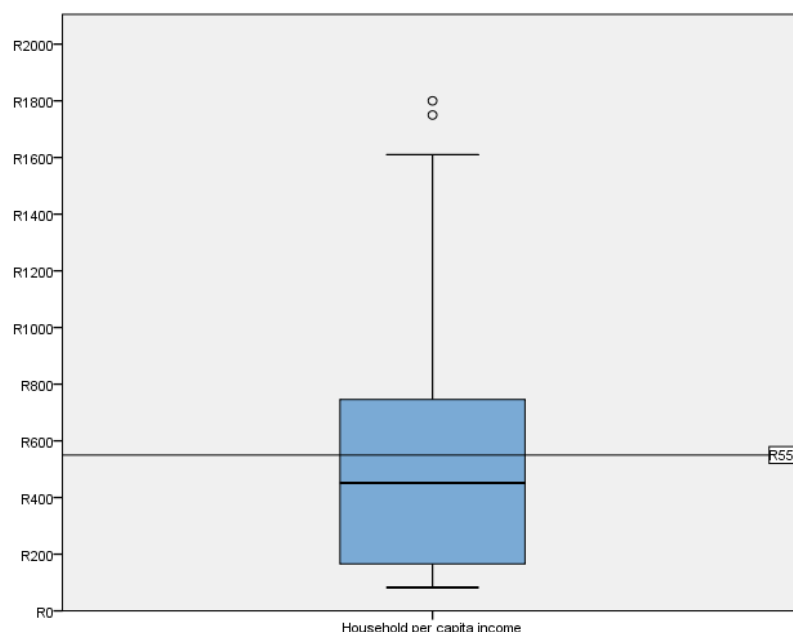
	Frequency	Percent
Makes no contributions outside Zwelitsha	15	29
Contributes to children and/or others outside of Zwelitsha	37	71
Total	52	100

Of the 52 respondents with household members living outside of Zwelitsha, 71% make contributions to children and people outside of Zwelitsha whereas 29% of the respondents make no contribution (Table 4.3). The data does not clearly indicate how often the respondents send contributions. Some respondents said that they send contributions in the form of money or clothes once a month or in December when they return home for the holidays. Some women stipulated that they send money when it was needed for specific purposes, for example, when her mother needed to go to the hospital. When asked what kind of contributions she made, one woman responded: "I send R1000 every month because I am the breadwinner. My whole family is dependent on me".

4.1.4 Income in Zwelitsha

The average household size of residents captured in the sample is about four people per dwelling ($M=3.6$, $SD= 1.5$). The household size does not include household members outside of Zwelitsha. Seventy-six households (86%) reported an income. The analysis excludes households who did not disclose an income. The average household income is R1983 per month with a standard deviation of R 1647 ($SE= R189$). The per capita monthly income (Figure 4.5) represents the income available per person in the household every month. Approximately 50% of households have R450 or less available for every person in the house every month ($M=R612$, $SD=R662$, $SE=R76$). Twenty-five percent of households in Zwelitsha have R150 or less available per person every month and 75% of households have R750 available per person per month. Sixty percent of households live

Figure 4.5 Income available in the house per person every month (N=76)



below a poverty line¹⁰ of R550 the poverty line and cannot afford most non-food basic necessities.

In Zwelitsha, the main sources of household income are social grants and income from paid employment. Eighty-seven individuals (29%) in the sample were recorded as grant beneficiaries. Fifty-six percent of households have at least one grant beneficiary. Most grant beneficiaries are children (92%) who receive the monthly Child Support Grant (CSG). While the figure seems high, only seventy percent of children in the sample benefit from grants.

Working-age individuals were defined as individuals 15 years and older. Sixty-seven percent of households received an income from one or more working individuals living in Zwelitsha in the month preceding the survey (Table 4.4). Fifty-two percent (N=109) of

¹⁰ In 2014 the food poverty line was estimated at R400 per-capita-per-month; the lower and upper bound poverty lines were estimated at R544 and R753 per capita per month, respectively (Statistics South Africa, 2015)

Table 4.4 Households with at least one individual earning an income

	Frequency	Percent
Household receives no income from working individuals	25	33
Household receives income from one or more working individuals	51	67
Total	76	100

working-age individuals earn no income from employment. The finding of no income may be explained by the timing of the survey; respondents who report zero income may find work at other times the year. In 81% of households one or more people had a job in the previous year (Table 4.5). In most households, at least two people had a job in the previous year (40%) followed by households where only one person had a job (33%).

Table 4.5 Number of people in the household who had a job in the previous year

Number of individuals	Frequency	Percent
0	14	19
1	25	33
2	30	40
3	4	5
4	2	3
Total	75	100

*1 case missing

The forty-eight percent (N=100) of people who earned an income from employment in the previous year specify the kind of work they do as follows: Men in Zwelitsha earn an income through farm work (52%), construction work (22%) and working in restaurants (9%). As previously stated, for women the main categories of work are farm work (52%), working in a shop (19%) and working in restaurants (9%). Little information was available on the nature of men and women's farm work activities.

4.1.5 Household income and networks of care

An analysis of per capita household income in Zwelitsha and the contributions households make to people living elsewhere suggests that households with higher levels of income

Table 4.6 Contributions by respondent to children and/or other relatives outside of Zwelitsha

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Household per capita income	Makes no contributions outside Zwelitsha	36	435.3889	431.89585	71.98264
	Contributes to children and/or others outside of Zwelitsha	40	771.3887	788.03113	124.59866

send contributions to household members outside of Zwelitsha (see Table 4.6 and 4.7). As reported in table 4.6, the average per capita income of households who send contributions falls above the poverty line of R550, whereas the average per capita income of households who do not send contributions fall below the poverty line. It is not clear to what extent households are supported by contributions from household members who live outside of Zwelitsha.

An independent t-test was conducted to compare the mean per capita income of households who contribute to members outside of Zwelitsha and those who do not (Table 4.7). The mean household per capita income for respondents who make no contributions to household members outside of Zwelitsha ($M = R435.39$, $SD = R431.90$) is significantly less than the mean household per capita income for respondents who do contribute to household members outside of Zwelitsha ($M = R771.39$, $SD = R778.03$). The difference

Table 4.7 Independent samples t-test of monthly income (per capita) between groups

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Household per capita income	Equal variances assumed	2.580	.112	-2.269	74	.026	-335.99980	148.08601	-631.06762	-40.93199
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.335	61.717	.023	-335.99980	143.89693	-623.67193	-48.32767

in mean incomes is statistically significant at the five percent level ($t(74) = -2.27, p = .03$) and registers as a medium-sized effect ($r = .25$).

The independent t-test indicates that households with higher levels of per capita income are more likely to send contributions to household members living elsewhere. Note that it is not possible to infer the direction of causality from this finding: The explanation that households who earn more are better equipped to make contributions to individuals living outside of Zwelitsha is probably primarily responsible for this finding. However, it is also possible that the desire to make contributions to children or relatives living elsewhere incentivises women to earn more income, implying that the desire to maintain external networks of care partially explains income differentials between households in Zwelitsha.

4.3. Discussion

In the past two decades, many new young, unmarried migrants have moved from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape in search of work. The migrants from the Eastern Cape are mostly unemployed, with low levels of income. A large portion of migrants settle in informal settlements around Cape Town or in other intermediate-size cities in the Western Cape (Jacobs & Du Plessis, 2016). My sample of households based in Zwelitsha is comprised largely of new young migrants from the Eastern Cape (57%) who move to Zwelitsha because of a lack of work opportunities at home (71%). The average age of inhabitants is 23 years ($SD = 15$ years), with 42% of the sample falling into the age category of 19 to 36 years. Households in Zwelitsha typically have very low levels of income; 50% of households have a collective monthly income of R1630 or less.

The migration of women and unmarried youth have impacted on the structure of the household in South Africa. It may explain the occurrence of smaller household sizes and

split households (Todes *et al.*, 2010). In Zwelitsha, women typically share a dwelling with two or three other people (M=4 members, SD=2 members). In some instances, the formation of new households in Zwelitsha may suggest the splitting of households elsewhere. The genograms of households in Zwelitsha who reported having connections to members who live elsewhere (40%) reflect the extendedness of the household as people in different geographic locations pool income and care resources to survive. However, not all households are able to maintain the same levels of care; 71% of respondents who reported having household members elsewhere send contributions. An analysis of the monthly income available per person for households in Zwelitsha finds that households with higher levels of per capita monthly income send contributions to people who live outside of Zwelitsha.

To return to the question posed by Mosoetsa (2011), complex networks of care enable households to survive. As stated earlier, not all women in Zwelitsha have strong networks of care. Boniswa can rely on her mother who takes care of her children in the Eastern Cape, while she stays with her husband and searches for work in Franschhoek. Boniswa's care network is vital to the maintenance and reproduction of the household. Esihle and Faniswa cannot rely on nor provide the same level of care as Boniswa. Esihle depends on intermittent contributions from her mother in the Eastern Cape, and her brother sometimes finds work. Faniswa is the sole breadwinner in her household and must care for her young child and her mother. The younger woman "claim dependence" on other poor people, which may consist of kin, neighbours or friends but even then, their care networks are limited. Boniswa is older, she well-established in the area and she is connected to potential benefactors, like CORC and the state. These connections enable

her make claims on resources and opportunities development projects and programmes such as the EPWP offer. She has established strong networks of care in her household and in the community. In both accounts, dependence on others open up avenues of claim-making which allow women and their households to survive (Ferguson, 2013).

Mobility is another livelihood strategy which enable poor households to survive. Networks of care enable women to migrate in search of employment and so ensure the survival of their households. In Akhona's story mobility within Franschhoek was a strategy to maintain and reproduce her household. Oldfield and Greyling (2015: 1101) describe the experience of many South Africans waiting for housing provided by the state, as existing in an interim, grey space where residents have to make do "in the meantime". The reverse trajectory of Akhona's move from a formal house to an informal dwelling suggests a different experience of waiting in the face of inadequate state provision. Access to infrastructure and the benefits of "development" do not necessarily put an end to the experience of waiting. Women must remain active and vigilant "in the meantime" and find strategies to maintain and care for their households. The benefits from development may only provide temporary relief, and then only for those who have access to these benefits.

Chapter 5 The politics of sanitation and care in Langrug

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I extend my discussion of women and care in the household to encompass the dynamics of women and care in the community. Various authors have highlighted sanitation infrastructure and services as a precondition to enable care-giving, however in many developing countries the availability of adequate sanitation services cannot be taken for granted (Fakier & Cock, 2009; Razavi, 2012; Chant, 2013). Women compensate for the lack in services by engaging in various time and labour-intensive activities in their households and in the community. In the household, the activities may include collecting water, washing clothes or dishes, cooking and cleaning. In the community, some women participate in state and NGO initiatives to provide care or upgrade services, often on a voluntary basis or for very little remuneration. I argue that the care practices of women in the household and in the community functions as a kind of infrastructure that fosters mutuality and sustains everyday life (Simone, 2015). However, notwithstanding the benefits derived from the provision of this infrastructure, the community's reliance on the participation of poor women may add to their care burden without providing any concrete rewards (Razavi, 2012; Chant, 2013; Fakier, 2014).

The evidence presented in this chapter challenges the narrative of “successful development” in Langrug in two ways. Firstly, data from my observations and participation in community meetings highlight the fractured nature of community interactions and the power structures at play in participatory development projects. Secondly, data from focus group discussions with women and a survey of women's

households in Zwelitsha reveal that the basic needs of women are often not met, thus exposing the limits of development.

5.2. A tale of two WaSH facilities

Central to extending my discussion of women and care to the community is a story documenting the participation of women in the development and maintenance of two Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WaSH) facilities in Langrug. The first of these facilities was built in 2013 in Mandela Park, a section at the bottom of the settlement. The facility was the result of a partnership between the community, the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) and a prestigious university in the USA. The second is an eco-friendly dry sanitation facility which was under construction in Zwelitsha at the time of my fieldwork. In the meantime, residents in Zwelitsha make use of the mountainous open area to relieve themselves. The lack of sanitation facilities places a burden on women – in most households the work falls on women to fetch water, wash clothes, bathe children and cook. Women are rendered vulnerable by the lack of toilets and the inadequacy of existing facilities. In the absence of sanitation infrastructure, women's activities make up an infrastructure of care that ensures social reproduction in difficult circumstances (Simone, 2015).

5.1.1 Mandela Park WaSH facility

I attended a community meeting between CORC and residents at the Mandela Park WaSH facility during my first visit to Langrug. The WaSH facility was painted in vibrant colours and spinach grew in the window sills. A price list was painted on the wall: going to the toilet was free and a shower cost R5. We spoke to the caretakers; two women who also ran a small crèche from the facility. They had been looking after the facility since

2013. CORC had paid them for the first six months, but pay became increasingly insecure and eventually stopped. They had found temporary work on a farm in January and returned a month later to find the place dirty and vandalized. The facility used to be protected by a security guard, but as project money ran out he found a job elsewhere. A door had been stolen, the culprit was identified and given the choice to either return the door or to pay for a new one. Despite several obstacles, when I visited Langrug the facility was up and running again.

I sat with the caretakers and the committee of women involved with CORC. We observed residents as they went about their daily activities in the space – washing laundry, talking to neighbours and going to the bathroom. The purpose of the meeting was to give feedback on the state of the toilet facilities. The committee of women talked amongst themselves but relied on Mr T, an established community leader with a longstanding affiliation with CORC, to raise their concerns during the general meeting. One caretaker had left and needed to be replaced. The progress of the WaSH facility was discussed, as well as plans to build a community centre on top of the WaSH facility in Mandela Park. Picture 5.1. shows the lively facility as women converse before the meeting.

Picture 5.1 Mandela Park WaSH facility March 2015



Source: Photo taken 10 March 2015, permission granted.

A few months later, I attended another meeting between stakeholders at the same facility. In comparison to the vibrant and colourful WaSH facility I visited last time, the facility was now a dreary sight. It was a rainy day and the floor was wet and muddy. All the painted doors had been stolen, loose planks lay against basins that appeared unused. Various community partners were present: municipal officials, city planners and members of CORC, the leader of the Informal Settlements Network (ISN), researchers with a long-term involvement in Langrug, community leaders and residents. A film crew documented the proceedings.

The issue at stake was the replacement of the stolen doors and the general maintenance of the facility. With regards to the stolen doors, CORC and ISN (both affiliates of Slum Dwellers International) said that they would be willing to contribute, but that the community must “take ownership” of a process of community financing through active savings groups. Mr Y, an up-and-coming community politician and a representative of the section in which the facility is built, stated that it was the responsibility of the municipality to provide doors and pay for maintenance. The municipal official present offered to incorporate the cleaning and maintenance of the toilet block into the Expanded Public Works Programme.

The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) intends to provide “poverty and income relief through temporary work for unemployed persons to carry out socially useful activities” (Western Cape Government, 2016). While the EPWP aims to “enhance EPWP participants’ chances of future employment and/or trigger their ‘entrepreneurial spirit,’” in reality the EPWP may offer the only means of employment available to many residents of informal settlements.

Mr Y replied that the section he represents did not want the caretakers from another section to be paid to clean and maintain the toilets in his section. He proposed two women and two men elected from his section to be appointed as cleaners and security guards. In a follow-up meeting the municipal official reported that the names proposed were not registered on the EPWP database. Mr Y was given a choice: the previous caretakers could be appointed immediately at the facility, or they would have to find other registered people to take over the jobs. This did not provide a solution to the problem and negotiations reached an impasse. Following this meeting, I passed Mandela Park WaSH facility on several occasions during my fieldwork in Zwelitsha. The doors were always locked, rubbish was strewn on the ground and the toilet doors were still missing. Neither the issue of the stolen doors nor the issue of maintenance were resolved. Picture 5.2. depicts the locked facility and the toilets with missing doors.

Picture 5.2 Toilets out of order



Source: Photo taken 30 July 2015

My first impression of the Mandela Park WaSH facility resonates with Chalfin's (2014) account of communal toilets as centres of social and public life in a settlement in Tema, Ghana. In her ethnography of infrastructure, she is attentive to the activities and practices of settlers in and around the toilets. Private activities such as relieving oneself and self-care are part of everyday public life in these spaces. Through women's activities facets

of social reproduction and domestic life are pulled into the public realm – pedagogical sayings are written on chalkboard, women do laundry, care for young children, cook and store their wares (Chalfin, 2014: 102). Toilet facilities are vital social spaces.

Chalfin (2014) draws on Lefebvre's (1968) concept of "the right to the city" to analyse the potential of public toilets and human waste as a means for inclusion in urban and social life in Ghana. She re-interprets the "right to the city" as the "right to shit". This refers both to the right "to shit", meaning the right to defecate, and to "the actual right to 'shit' as a material resource with public and private value" (Chalfin, 2014: 94). Chalfin uses an example of toilet blocks managed by neighbourhood associations to illustrate how shit can be a political resource, enabling residents to claim communal toilet blocks as their property (Chalfin, 2014: 99).

The contention for jobs at the WaSH facility in Mandela Park can be analysed by drawing on Chalfin's concept of the right to shit. On the one hand, the "right to shit" offers the potential for inclusion in urban life (Chalfin, 2014). The facility I encountered during my first visits to Langrug demonstrates the social value of toilets. At that time, the WaSH facility was a lively social space accessible to residents. Women were able to access networks that connected them to other community members and more powerful actors such as CORC. It enabled residents, especially women, to rely on each other and to make certain claims on CORC to care for the facility and by extension, for the community (Ferguson, 2013).

Conversely, the right to "shit" as a material resource may provide the grounds for the exclusion of certain people and groups. The women who had voluntarily cleaned the facility after payment had ceased were pushed out by a group of men claiming jobs for

the residents of their section. A community leader, Mr X, surmised that the men were jealous as there was money involved, although this interaction may indicate to a broader politics of exclusion around sanitation. The series of negotiations over jobs suggest a politics of exclusion that is territorial, and also gendered: territorial in that the inhabitants do not want people from another section to be paid to work in ‘their’ section’s WaSH facility; gendered in the sense that a group of men claimed ownership of the facility once paid jobs were at stake. The account also illustrates a gendered division of labour in the nature of jobs claimed: positions as cleaners are reserved for women, and the work of security guards are reserved for men.

5.1.1. Siphumelele Dry WaSH, Zwelitsha

A politics of exclusion resurfaces in the construction and management of the new dry sanitation facility. Zwelitsha is the youngest informal settlement section of Langrug. It has only recently become the focus of development projects and still lacks basic sanitation infrastructure. Construction of the Siphumelele Dry WaSH Facility began in September 2014. The facility was co-designed by ten women from Langrug and an NGO Touching the Earth Lightly (Kumar & Hendler, 2014b). The structure is raised well above the ground to compensate for the steepness of the terrain and to accommodate the dry sanitation system. There are eight toilets on the first floor of the facility, the second floor consists of an open space that could be used as a community hall (Picture 5.3.). From the second floor window, one looks down at the different sections of Langrug and the valley of Franschhoek.

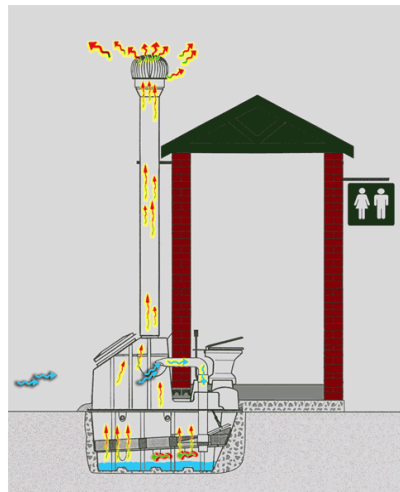
The community and its partners chose Enviro Loo as an off-grid solution to the problem of sanitation, as the central sewerage line installed in the Langrug partnership did not

Picture 5.3 Siphumelele WaSH facility in Zwelitsha



Source: Photo taken 23 July 2015, permission granted.

Picture 5.4 The Enviro Loo dry sanitation system



Source: www.enviro-loo.com

stretch as far as Zwelitsha. Enviro Loo is a South African product which offers “a waterless, on-site, dry sanitation toilet system that functions without water or chemicals” (“Enviro Loo”, n.d.). The system separates faeces and urine, urine evaporates and faeces dries and compacts in tanks below the facility (see picture 5.4). Long black pipes extend vertically along the facility, and are fitted with ventilator fans at the top which allow urine to evaporate and reduce the stench of drying waste. According to the Enviro Loo website,

compacted and dried faeces needs to be removed every six months to three years depending on use (“Enviro Loo”, n.d.).

There are many potential advantages to the system. It is environmentally friendly and its developers claim it is easy to maintain. However, despite its eco-friendly and communal design, the context of Zwelitsha poses several challenges to the working of the system. The Enviro Loo system does not process greywater. Women would need to walk to another section to dispose of greywater in a laundry basin or continue to dispose of water in the streets outside of their homes. There are no bins or water for women to dispose of waste or wash themselves when they menstruate. Maintenance may become an issue as it is the only facility available in Zwelitsha, and eight toilets would have to be shared by about 600 to 1000 residents.

In the midst of the construction process there had also been a change in leadership. Sindiswa, the previous project leader, was replaced by Mr T, a community leader involved with CORC. Sindiswa ran a crèche in Enkanini, another section of Langrug, and she hoped to move the crèche to the WaSH facility when it was done. Sindiswa participated as a fieldworker in CORC enumerations and was actively involved in efforts to upgrade sanitation. In a documentary interview she stated: “I’ve been living here since 2006. I went to the bush to relieve myself, even in winter. This [the new WaSH facility] is exciting, there is hope that something will be done.” She praised CORC, stating that they are better than the municipality because “the municipality does not come when you call them, but you can call CORC. This helps speed up the process” (Isandla Institute, 2015). Sindiswa later participated as a fieldworker during the survey. In training each fieldworker filled out a questionnaire for her household. Sindiswa jotted down that she was currently

unemployed due to “back stabbing”. When I asked her to elaborate, she stated that she had been backstabbed by another community leader over the facility where she was no longer project leader.

Construction of the Siphumelele dry WaSH facility became more and more irregular during the year. The young men constructing the facility would at times be present but would mostly be sitting around, talking and listening to music. Several planks disappeared from the upper façade, and residents reported that at night they heard noise and music coming from the facility. One morning I encountered Mr Y and Mr T as they showed several ISN development workers around. There were new plans for Zwelitsha; shacks needed to be moved to accommodate electricity lines along the road next to the WaSH facility. By the time I concluded my fieldwork in November 2015 the facility was still not open to residents.

In a special journal issue on “infrastructural violence”, Rodgers and O'Neill (2012) distinguish between passive and active violence around infrastructure. They introduce Anand's (2012) account of Muslim residents' struggle to access water in an informal settlement in Mumbai as a form of passive violence. Anand (2012) describes how Muslim settlers have to go through a great deal of trouble to access water in the settlement, and even when they do gain access, the quality of water is often poor and the quantities are precarious. Although Muslim settlers are not explicitly denied access to water, they need to work much harder than their Hindu counterparts in order to obtain a substandard quality of water (Anand, 2012: 488). The Muslim settlers are disconnected from the relational networks and forms of patronage other settlers mobilise in order to gain access. Anand

(2012) argues that the water networks of the city form an infrastructure which facilitates the abjection of Muslim settlers.

McFarlane, Desai and Graham's (2015) discussion of the exclusion of migrant workers can be analysed as an active form of violence. They discuss how informal sanitation is maintained and managed through the exclusion of certain groups of people in two settlements in Mumbai, India. In one settlement, migrant workers are blamed for dirty and blocked toilets, and by denying certain groups of people access to the toilets local residents claim municipal toilets for their own private use. Open defecation is another form of exclusion, a passive sort of infrastructural violence. Open defecation is an alternative option where there are no toilets or toilets are too far, blocked or busy. In the other settlement, the authors found that open defecation is organised according to a particular temporal and spatial logic: men, women and children defecate in different areas and often at different times of the day. Women especially need to take safety concerns into account as they manage their daily needs (McFarlane, Desai, & Graham, 2014: 17 - 18). Much like the Muslim settlers in Anand's (2012) account who struggle to coax clean water out of the city's pipes, women have to go through a great deal of trouble to find safe and private places to relieve themselves.

Violence here refers to the "broader processes of marginalization, abjection and disconnection [which] become operational and sustainable in contemporary cities through infrastructure" (Rodgers & O'Neill, 2012: 403). In Zwelitsha, the lack of adequate sanitation facilities and the practice of open defecation indicate to the symbolic and physical exclusion of women and the urban poor from the potential benefits of urban networks.

The exclusionary politics around infrastructure is both active and passive. It is active, as access to opportunities around the Siphumelele WaSH facility are controlled by male community leaders. The female project leader was replaced by a long-standing male community leader. Sindiswa conceded her leadership position, but still held on to her claim on the communal space above the facility as the new location for her crèche. Despite the representation of the facility as a project championed by women, Sindiswa's position as project leader was precarious and expendable. "Community ownership" of the facility is managed by men. It is passive, as the facility does not adequately meet women's needs for hygiene and safety. In the absence of toilets in Zwelitsha, women "go to the mountain", or use toilets in other sections to relieve themselves. Here open defecation is a marker of exclusion as women need to walk further and work harder to take care of their own sanitation and hygiene needs and the needs of others.

5.3. Women and sanitation in Zwelitsha

Open defecation is one of the ways women make do "in the meantime" as they wait for toilets as a form of material inclusion (Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). Desai, McFarlane and Graham (2015) suggest that while literature and popular media portray open defecation as undignified and shameful, women may not experience it as such. In the focus group, women spoke matter-of-factly about "going to the mountain" to relieve themselves. They were hesitant to speak at first and appeared confused by my interest in sanitation. However, I found that most of the participants responded easily to questions related to the WaSH facility and women's sanitation practices. We sat on crates and planks in the half-built facility and talked about toilets, safety, menstruation and how far away the clinic is.

Most women agreed that the facility could ultimately be beneficial, but that construction was taking too long. A young woman raised her concerns with regards to safety. She said: “Yes [this facility will make sanitation better] but women can also get raped here because there is one door, and men also come here.” The other women agreed. Boniswa said: “I think security will be there. Because if there is no security...it will be a problem”. The facility has only one door, thus it would be easy to trap a woman inside the bathroom. It is doubtful, given the events at the Mandela Park WaSH facility, that there will be sufficient resources to employ a full-time security guard. Despite the claim that the facility was designed by women, it would not necessarily provide a safe solution for women when they need to relieve themselves.

The survey that I compiled explored several issues raised in the focus group. Eighty-eight women were interviewed in the survey regarding their general sanitation practices. The results found that by day, 40% of women relieve themselves in the open space and 60% of women make use of flush toilets in another section. By night, 31% of women relieve themselves in the open space, 47% of women use flush toilets in another section and 15% of women interviewed use a bucket in their homes which they empty in the morning. Sixty percent of women feel unsafe going to the toilet or open space to relieve themselves by day, this figure rises to 90% of women who feel unsafe when they need to relieve themselves by night. Communal flush toilets offer little privacy; women are afraid of attack due to poor maintenance and lax security. Women who relieve themselves in the open are scared of snakes and baboons on the mountain. They are afraid of being attacked or raped when they go to the toilet, especially by night.

There are no adequate facilities to meet women's hygiene needs when they menstruate.

Women answered questions directly and often responded to my seemingly naïve questions with humour:

Reinette (researcher): As women, do you think there are challenges that women face that men do not? So for example, what do you do when it is that time of the month...

A: [Do you mean] your period?

R: Yes is it harder then?

A: Yes it is hard.

(Women laughing)

B: We can't throw it out in front of the house, that dirty water, and then we put [the dirty water] in a bucket and go to the toilet and flush it. It is difficult.

Reinette: Do people use pads or tampons or rags or...what do people use?

All: Pads...

Reinette: Mostly pads, and do they throw it then in dustbins?

All: Yes in dustbins.

C: They wash it first. The cloth.

B: If you don't have the money for pads you must cut a small cloth and use it. And there are no dustbins.

R: Are there dustbins in Zwelitsha at all?

All: No

R: Does the municipality have any services here?

All: No.

R: So you have to keep it at home and take it there?

D: If you don't want to throw them in the dustbin, you wash them, and you dry them and you burn them.

Women make use of pads or rags which can be washed and reused when they menstruate. Disposal of sanitary products is a problem, as refuse collection is irregular.

There is one waste site on the road next to Zwelitsha, and one waste collection site along the central road in Langrug – these are the only sites available for women to dispose of

used pads or rags. The water used to wash pads must be disposed of. Women walk far to throw this water out in toilets in other sections.

Picture 5.5 The only tap in Zwelitsha



Source: Photo taken 23 September 2015

There is only one tap in Zwelitsha. Women fetch water once or twice a day, using a bucket that carries about 20 litres. The water is used for drinking, cooking, bathing and washing clothes. Respondents were asked how often they fetch water per day and how much water they fetch at a time. It was determined that approximately 50% of households use 40 litres of water every day ($M=52$ litres, $SD = 30$ litres). Water use also depends on the number of people who live in the house and need water daily. Women typically live with few people in the same house, approximately 50% of households have three or less members living together in Zwelitsha ($M=3.6$, $SD = 1.6$). It is found that in 50% of houses there is about 15 litres of water available per person on a daily basis ($M=17$ litres, $SD = 11$ litres). Women were asked how they disposed of greywater. About eight out of ten women interviewed throw out greywater outside of their house, in the street or in the yard. A few women throw water out in greywater holes or in the toilet facility in another section.

In addition to the focus group, I conducted several informal interviews in Zwelitsha. Boniswa facilitated and translated interviews with residents. She showed me the sanitation facilities in Zwelitsha: the reservoir dams above Zwelitsha, the single tap just below it, several flush toilets and laundry basins in adjacent sections, and the two wash facilities in Langrug. That morning, I was struck by the amount of activity in Zwelitsha. It was a sunny day, and apparently Wednesday morning is the time for chores. Men and women were carrying buckets of water from the only tap to their homes. Women sat on low benches outside of their homes, washing clothes or dishes (see picture 5.6).

Picture 5.6 Laundry day in Zwelitsha



Source: Photo taken 23 September 2015

In houses where both men and women were present I explored the participation of men and women in household chores. Single households and households in which only women were present were excluded from this portion of the analysis. Women and men younger than 12 and older than 65 years of age were also excluded, as there are very few children under 12 who were older than 6 and very few adults older than 65 recorded in the sample.

Respondents were asked to indicate for each person in the household whether they do any of the following six tasks: fetching water, cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes, cleaning the house and cleaning the yard. As is to be expected, overall women take on the most responsibility for housework. However, while the data shows that for every activity a greater percentage of women than men do each of the specified households tasks, it also shows that a large percentage of men do participate in household activities. While men were found to most frequently participate in washing clothes and cleaning the yard, no categories were found to be exclusively the domain of either men or women.

To assess the likelihood of participating in household chores, each respondent was given a simple participation score: Each activity corresponds to one point. A score of 1 indicates that an individual participates in 1 household chore, a score of 6 indicates that an individual participates in all household activities. One aspect of the data that emerges

Figure 5.1 Participation in household chores in mixed households by age(N=280)

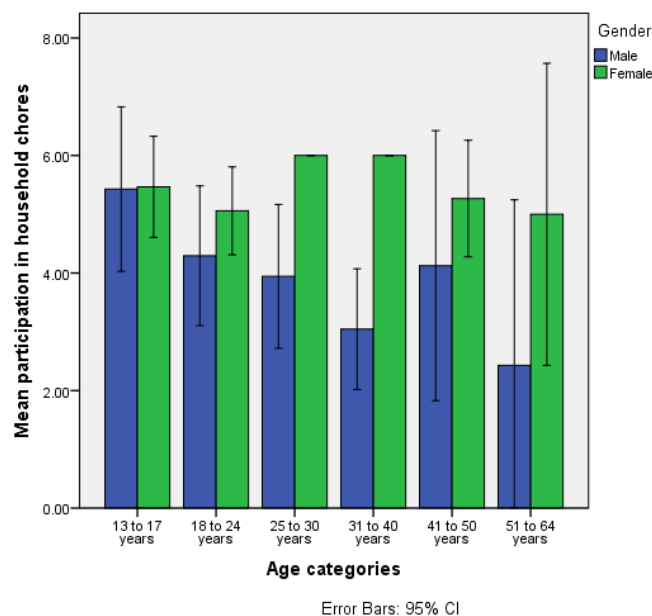


Figure 1 N(male)=120 N(female)=160

quite clearly is that if an individual is likely to do one chore, such as fetching water, he or she is very likely to participate in other household chores such as washing dishes. On average, men participate in 3 household chores ($M=3$, $SD=2.6$), whilst women participate in 4 household chores ($M=4$, $SD=2.7$). Approximately 50% of men participate in 2 household activities, compared to 50% of women who participate in 6 household activities.

Using the participation scores discussed above, I compare the mean participation in household chores across age groups. The split bar graph (figure 5.1) shows the mean participation within six age groups, split by gender. Respondents aged 13 to 17 are grouped together as teenagers, and young adults are split between those aged 18 to 24 and those aged 25 to 30. Older adults are split between those who are still in their prime working years (those aged 31 to 40 and those aged 41 to 50), and those entering the later years of their working lives (aged 51 to 64). Whiskers extending out from the mean of each category (i.e. the top of each bar) represent the 95% confidence interval corresponding to the mean estimate for that group. Overlapping confidence intervals (such as those associated with men and women between the ages of 13 and 17 or for men and women between the ages of 18 and 24) indicate that the difference between the corresponding mean scores are not statistically different from zero – i.e. that we cannot say with confidence that participation differs systematically between these groups.

Referring to figure 5.1, the means of participation scores for teenage girls and boys are nearly identical (the difference between them is also not statistically different from zero). However, apart from the result for men aged 41 to 50, the mean participation score for men is lower in each successive age group. No such clear trend emerges for women.

Relative to women aged 13 to 17, mean participation for women is lower for those aged 18 to 24, higher for those aged 25 to 30 and those aged 31 to 40, about equal for those aged 41 to 50 and lower for those aged 51 to 64. Notably, for women aged 25 to 30 and those aged 31 to 40 the mean participation score is 6, indicating that all women in these age groups participate in all 6 of the household chores (this also explains why there are no confidence intervals surrounding these means, as the construction of confidence intervals requires variability in the data).

These results suggest that women in mixed households tend to take responsibility and participate in the bulk of household chores across all age groups. The difference between men and women in participation in household chores seems to increase with age, showing a significant difference in the two age categories between 25 and 30 years and 31-40 years (those where women do all six activities listed) whereas men only participate in select chores. These findings reaffirm the gendered expectations linked to housework. In this case the findings do not indicate that household chores are specifically gendered, but rather that while women will almost certainly participate in the bulk of housework or take responsibility for housework men may have a choice with regards to the extent of their participation.

Fakier and Cock (2009) highlight the impact of poor sanitation conditions on women in working class African households in South Africa: “the division of labour in the household defined by the dominant gender order means that women are responsible for household consumption which includes obtaining water for washing, cleaning and cooking”. They remark however that due to rising levels of unemployment, young men may share certain tasks that were traditionally considered women’s work such as collecting water (Fakier &

Cock, 2009: 366). My findings are consistent with those of Fakier and Cock (2009:366) in that while household chores are shared and the division of chores does not conform to strict gender roles, women seem to remain responsible for most of the housework.

Cebisa's account (Vignette 5.1) is an example of housework in an atypically large household of eleven people:

Vignette 5.1 Cebisa

Cebisa lives in a household which consists of eleven people including children. At the time of the interview she was busy washing clothes, she said that she has to do everyone's washing. She has lived in Zwelitsha since 2006. She comes from the Eastern Cape and originally moved to Mooiwater but the rent was too high and so she moved and built a shack in Zwelitsha. There are five children in the household. Three children, aged 13, 9 and 7 attend the primary school in Mooiwater (Dalubuhle Primary School). A young woman and her 2-year old girl joined us. The child wasn't happy and had stayed home from crèche that day. The young woman was also looking after another boy, a friends' son. I asked Cebisa what she will do after she is done with the washing. She said she will cook samp and beans, so that food is ready when the kids come back from school. Boniswa facilitated the conversation, laughed and joked with her friend saying "She is the housewife".

Chant (2013) argues that despite women's investment in urban areas in the global South through their paid and unpaid labour, women do not have an equal share in the rewards of urban living – such as proximity to work, access to better services and enhanced participation in governance (Chant, 2013: 9). Cebisa's case is an extreme example of an unemployed woman taking care of most of the household chores and care work in the

home. She spends significant portions of her time every day collecting water, washing clothes and preparing food. Boniswa jokingly called her a “housewife”. There is a certain kind of endearment in this term that shows that the housework expected of women is often constructed as work of affection, as a labour of love (Hochschild, 2002). This may obscure the physical and emotional effort and time spent on housework. In Zwelitsha, poor women invest time and effort to compensate for the lack of care services and basic infrastructure, without necessarily sharing in the benefits of development in Langrug and Franschhoek (Chant, 2013).

5.4. Discussion

The representation of Langrug as an example of “successful” and “innovative” community development is challenged by the stories of the two WaSH facilities. This chapter demonstrates that the maintenance and management of sanitation facilities rely on a politics of exclusion, in which women often lose out on opportunities and resources linked to state and NGO interventions. In the story of the Mandela Park WaSH facility two women caretakers are replaced by a group of men trying to secure jobs for the inhabitants of their section. In Zwelitsha, a long-standing male community leader takes over as project leader from a woman who was perhaps deemed to be taking too long to complete the facility. Despite the course of events, it would be a mistake to think of these women as stripped of agency and options.

The caretakers at the Mandela Park facility had been involved with CORC as volunteers or part-time workers for about a year when I met them. They were registered on the Western Cape’s EPWP database. Sindiswa is a first point of contact for many researchers and development workers coming into the area. She welcomed me into

Langrug on various occasions and as a fieldworker in the survey, she demonstrated skill and experience as an enumerator. She is well-connected, she has an established relationship with CORC and is an active member of the ANC Women's League. Despite losing her position as project leader, she holds on to the hope of moving her crèche to the community hall above the Siphumelele Dry WaSH facility once construction is completed. In Ferguson's (2013:231) terms, both the caretakers and Sindiswa have succeeded in claiming dependence on a more powerful actor "with a greater capacity to protect". Despite the decline in funding after the Langrug partnership, women who are connected to CORC and the municipality are positioned to take hold of incoming opportunities.

Scherz (2014) studied the Ugandan NGO Hope Child and their sustainable development programme which supports orphans and their caregivers. She argues that the poorest women and families often lose out on the benefit of the program as they do not have the resources to qualify themselves as capable of 'self-development' (Scherz, 2014: 44). In Langrug, it is women with resources who succeed in making claims to obtain "care" from CORC, researchers and the state (Ferguson, 2013). Women like Sindiswa and Boniswa who accompanied me on interviews, have amassed sufficient social (and at times, financial) capital to seize opportunities when they arise. This is not the case for many new residents in Langrug.

The story of development in Langrug is far removed from the reality of the daily lives of many young and unemployed women who reside in Zwelitsha. Findings from the focus group and the survey demonstrate that unpaid care and housework are still primarily located in the home, where women take up the costs and responsibilities of care.

Inadequate access to services, notably water and sanitation, places a burden on urban women. On the one hand, a lack of water and sanitation means that women cannot take care of their own hygiene needs, and face a risk of violence when they relieve themselves in facilities and open spaces outside of their homes. On the other hand, women need to compensate for the lack of services. Women spend more time fetching water, cooking, washing, cleaning, accompanying children to the toilet and disposing of household and human waste (Chant, 2013: 19).

Most of these women are not connected to powerful patrons and ‘stakeholders’, like the state or CORC, and instead rely on family members or friends for support. Simone’s (2004) concept of “people as infrastructure” offers a useful lens through which to analyse the daily activities women engage in to sustain themselves and others in Zwelitsha. The activities and strategies of women make up an infrastructure that compensate for the lack of care services and basic infrastructure in Zwelitsha. The connections are precarious as women need to balance their dependence on others, with a desire for privacy and intimacy away from the awareness and surveillance of their neighbours.

Simone’s commentary on Maringanti and Jonnalagadda’s (2015) discussion of informal sanitation infrastructure frames care as an infrastructure that sustains daily life in poor urban areas. Here, care entails a daily dependence on others to secure sanitation services or collaboration to maintain and manage facilities. Sustaining relationships and building solidarity proves a difficult task in densely inhabited settlements where maintaining privacy and enacting intimacy depends on excluding others from one’s immediate social and physical presence – inhabitants may literally need to shit where they eat. Nonetheless, Simone argues that amidst the insecurity of informal settlements,

practices of care can create a sense of mutuality that enables inhabitants to find “dignified places to shit along the way” (Simone, 2015:382).

Simone's analysis shows the importance of care activities to enabling people to live meaningful lives, and not merely survive, in harsh living conditions. However, he does not elaborate on *who* provides and maintains the infrastructure of people and care in the household and the community. Hassim (2008: 110) raises this concern in relation to welfare policy in South Africa:

The emphasis on strengthening the family and community as an explicit policy aim also leaves open the question of who in the family and community ought to be responsible for undertaking care work. Women's unpaid care work is superficially acknowledged (and at times celebrated), while there is no commitment to changing this pattern of responsibility through public provisioning.

Participation in care work in the house and in initiatives to improve the community is deeply gendered as women avail their time, their bodies and their emotions to care for others. Razavi (2012) highlights volunteerism as an important form of unpaid care work in developing countries. She cautions that a reliance on the unpaid and underpaid labour of poor women from “the community” may compromise the well-being of caregivers as well as the quality of care being offered. This may also serve to reify the idea that “the community” is an appropriate safety-net for gaps in welfare provisioning by the state (Razavi, 2012: 25).

Fakier (2014) discusses the Community Work Programme, a recent addition to the Expanded Public Works Programme, an area-based programme which relies on community participation to decide the agenda. Notwithstanding the significant benefits of the programme, Fakier (2014) emphasises that poor women remain the providers of care in poor communities, whether as low-paid workers or volunteers. She states: “Asking that

poor women be recognized as the de facto carers in poor communities is not simply a call that they be remunerated for their efforts. Instead, it highlights the fact that where social policy fails, it is poor women who carry the burden” (Fakier, 2014: 143). She argues that “voluntary” care work performed by women in their communities, cannot stand in the place of “pro-active public care services” that are needed to complement social assistance programmes in South Africa (Fakier 2014: 144).

This chapter has highlighted the impact of poor sanitation conditions on women in Zwelitsha. Women’s care activities are related to sanitation infrastructure in two ways. Firstly, everyday activities such as collecting water and washing clothes and disposing of waste, continue to sustain and reproduce life in the absence of adequate infrastructure. In this way, women’s activities can be thought of as an “infrastructure of care” (Simone, 2015). Secondly, the concept of unpaid care work is extended from activities in the household, to include the volunteer work women do in the community. Women contributed to the WaSH facilities as planners, caretakers, cleaners, leaders and as volunteers, and sometimes as low-paid workers. Despite these contributions, women’s efforts are often unrecognized and unrewarded.

Chant (2013) states that “to enlist poor women in the largely unpaid and fundamentally altruistic work of building better cities arguably entraps them in roles that go against the grain of transforming gender or creating a more equal share of urban prosperity”. The current implementation and management of sanitation upgrading projects in Langrug does not take women’s contributions or needs into account. While some women may benefit from the opportunities associated with development initiatives, for most women in Zwelitsha development remains a myth.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Babalwa¹¹ was busy washing clothes when I met her. When asked about life in Zwelitsha, she did not speak of development projects, instead she highlighted other realities: “there is no electricity”, “there is no water”, “it is not safe to go to the toilet at night”. Despite the strategies Babalwa relies on to sustain her household—sending her children to the Eastern Cape, staying in Franschhoek to generate an income, doing domestic chores—her household remains poor and ultimately excluded from “development” and the material benefits of democracy.

The question of Mosoetsa (2011)—“how do the poor survive?”—and Ferguson’s (2013) concept of “declarations of dependence” have been central to the analysis of social reproduction, care, and the participation of women in efforts to upgrade sanitation services in Langrug. Through “declarations of dependence” some women in Langrug, usually those who are well-connected and well-established (Scherz, 2014), can make claims on members of their households and extended networks of care, and on the resources and opportunities provided by more powerful benefactors such as researchers, municipal officials, community leaders and NGO members. However, not all women can rely on or provide the same level of care. While some women like Boniswa can rely on extended care networks in which the costs and responsibilities of care are shared, many younger women such as Esihle and Faniswa can only access weak or limited household

¹¹ See Vignette 1.1.

care networks, and may *de facto* be entirely excluded from accessing care from more powerful benefactors.

The “declarations of dependence” made by women constitute a different form of political subjectivity and mobilisation than that which is implied in Chatterjee’s (2004) concept of “political society”. The Langrug partnership is an example of a population group who succeeded in claiming benefits from state and non-state stakeholders, by constituting themselves as a community deserving of “political society”. The community positioned itself as an agent of self-development through the partnership with CORC, ISN and Stellenbosch Municipality. On this basis, they succeed in influencing “the implementation of policy in their favour” (Chatterjee, 2004: 60).

However, women do not always have an equal share in the benefits directed at the community of Langrug. To follow from Ticktin (2011), NGO and state interventions in sanitation may constitute an “anti-politics of care”. Development projects, such as the two WaSH facilities, rely primarily on the unpaid and underpaid work of poor women in the community, without challenging the distribution of power and resources and the gendered division of care work. Fundamentally, these projects are not transformative. The WaSH facilities do not adequately address the sanitation and hygiene needs of women, and women are often times barred from accessing the more tangible benefits of the projects—such as jobs.

Instead, women remain primarily concerned with the provision of care in their households by engaging in domestic chores, caring for their children and sending contributions to household members living elsewhere, when they can afford it. Development in the Langrug area does not infiltrate the space of women’s households. Most development

initiatives are far removed from the everyday realities women must navigate to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of their households. The interaction and balance of power between the stakeholders in Langrug (community leaders, NGOs, and the municipality) do not result in a more equitable distribution of the costs and responsibilities of care required to reproduce and maintain people and infrastructure (Daly & Lewis, 2000: 286; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006:3). Care is privatised, social reproduction remains securely in the private domain of the household.

Several features of this study must be taken into account in assessing the extent to which these findings are externally valid. In particular, the use of a non-probability sampling strategy in the survey limits the extent to which the findings of the study can be generalized to the population of Zwelitsha. The quantitative findings only represent the sample of respondents captured in the survey and cannot be generalized to the population of all women's households in Zwelitsha. Thus, as discussed in Chapter 3, the sample may over-represent women who were not engaged in paid work at the time of the survey.

Likewise, the use of the case study method, which focused narrowly on one informal settlement, restricts the extent to which the findings of the study can be applied to other informal settlements in South Africa. The experience of women may be different in other informal settlements in the Winelands and South Africa generally, particularly those which have not been the target of development interventions and media-attention to the same extent as Langrug.

Despite these limitations in terms of generalizability, the findings of the study may be transferable to other informal settlements targeted by state and non-state development

initiatives (Patton, 2002: 584). These findings, which reflect the precariousness of many women's households in Zwelitsha despite the narrative of successful development in Langrug, may also provide a point of departure for research seeking to understand the experiences of young women in poor households elsewhere in South Africa. Moreover, these findings may be particularly relevant to areas which have not yet been targeted as sites for development interventions given the need for and inevitable extension of development initiatives across South Africa. In account of this research, the planning, design and implementation of future development initiatives targeting other impoverished areas in South Africa may benefit from this research by incorporating an awareness of how women are *and are not* affected by different modes of intervention.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Informed consent forms - Information sheet, focus group/fieldworker, survey¹²



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STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY INFORMATION SHEET

A case study of women's experiences of sanitation upgrading in Langrug, an informal settlement in Stellenbosch Municipality

Good day! My name is Reinette Meiring. I am busy with research for a masters' degree in sociology at Stellenbosch University. I am doing a study of women's experiences and perceptions of sanitation in Zwelitsha, Langrug. The outcome of this study is a written report for the community. I do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research. If there is any reason that you think you may become upset by answering these questions, please feel free not to participate.

If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor:

Miss Reinette Meiring

Prof Steven Robins

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché at the Division for Research Development.

¹² All informed consent forms were translated in Xhosa by the Stellenbosch University Language Services



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**STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

**A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF SANITATION UPGRADING IN LANGRUG, AN
INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY**

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Good day! My name is Reinette Meiring. I am busy with research for a masters' degree in Sociology at Stellenbosch University. I am doing a study of women's experiences and perceptions of sanitation in Zwelitsha, Langrug.

If you have questions later, you may contact me or my supervisor:

Miss Reinette Meiring

[Prof Steven Robins](#)

2. WHAT I WILL ASK YOU TO DO

In a group, we will discuss your experience of sanitation in Zwelitsha, and your perceptions of the new dry sanitation Siphumelele WaSH facility. I will voice record this group interview with your permission. We will develop a questionnaire to draw up a profile of women in Zwelitsha to determine if they have similar experiences. You will be expected to conduct a 20 minute interview with 15 to 20 women selected from households in Zwelitsha. You will be compensated at R120 per day for the duration of the survey, approximately five days. This includes training, data collection and feedback. We will compile a report of our findings. This report can be used to communicate women's needs to the municipality or NGOs in Langrug.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

I do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research. If there is any reason that you think you may become upset by answering these questions, please feel free not to participate.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. No one outside of this group will be able to link your name to the information you share. Your information will not be identifiable in the final written thesis. I will secure recordings on my personal computer which is password protected. These recordings will only serve as data collection and will not be used for any other purpose.

4. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You do not have to participate in this study. If you choose to participate you may stop at any time. You will not be penalized in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study. You may also choose not to answer a particular question that has been asked in this study. We will discuss ethics during questionnaire training. If your conduct contradicts this, I may withdraw you from the study (i.e. deliberately filling in incorrect information).

6. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT

This research was explained in a language I understand. I agree voluntarily to participate in this study:

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____.
 He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions.

Signature of Researcher

Date



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**STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

**A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF SANITATION IN ZWELITSHA, AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN STELLENBOSCH
MUNICIPALITY**

Good day! My name is _____. This questionnaire is part of a study by Reinette Meiring, from the University of Stellenbosch. This study is not for the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC).

The information will be used to draw up a profile of women in the household. A report of the findings will be available from the fieldworkers conducting this study. The survey will take approximately 20 to 30 minutes. Everything you or any other member of the household tells me will be treated as confidential and your name(s) will not be written down or mentioned anywhere. Participation in this survey is voluntary and you can stop the interview or refuse to answer some of the questions. You will not be paid for participation.

Do you give permission to go ahead with the survey (*Fieldworker, indicate respondent's answer. If NO, thank the respondent and leave*).

YES _____

NO _____

If you have any further questions please feel free to contact me or my supervisor:

Miss Reinette Meiring

Prof Steven Robins

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché at the Division for Research Development.

Appendix B: Survey questionnaire¹³



Questionnaire Number			
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0. ZWELITSHA, LANGRUG: SURVEY OF WOMEN NOVEMBER 2015

Fieldworker Name		
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Information about visit(s):

FIRST VISIT	d	d	m	m	y	y	Time	Response
Date			0	2	0	9		
SECOND VISIT	d	d	m	m	y	Y	Time	Response
Date			0	2	0	9		

Codes for visits:

Response:

1. Questionnaire completed
2. Respondent not at home, but did make an appointment
3. Respondent(s) at home, but not available, and did make an appointment
4. Household / respondent refuses to give interview
5. Other, specify:

¹³ The questionnaire was translated into Xhosa by Stellenbosch University Language Services

Definitions

Respondent: Person responsible for most of the household chores and care work. A woman, 18 years and older.

Care: The provision of physical and emotional labour, as well as money and goods, by women to others.

Recipients of care: Children, husbands, partners, siblings, parents, neighbours

Broader household: People who share resources and networks of care for most of the year.

Zwelitsha household: People who stay in Zwelitsha for most of the year, i.e. at least for 6 months.

Working age: 15 years and older.

Household tasks: Includes activities around the house that is mostly done by women, often with the help of other household members: This includes fetching water, cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes, housecleaning and cleaning the yard.

Household characteristics

Numbering system: R. Respondent. 2. Other adults. 3. Children ages descending.

ONLY NUMBER HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS CURRENTLY STAYING IN ZWELITSHA

Questions to ask: Who lives here most of the year?

Are there others that live here (in Zwelitsha) at times during the year? When do they stay here? For how long?

Do you (the respondent) care for others living elsewhere? E.g. sometimes send food, money.

Do you (the respondent) receive care from others living elsewhere? E.g. sometimes receive money, food, gifts.

Key:

together



Respondent



Separated/divorced/no longer living



Woman



Married, in process, relationship



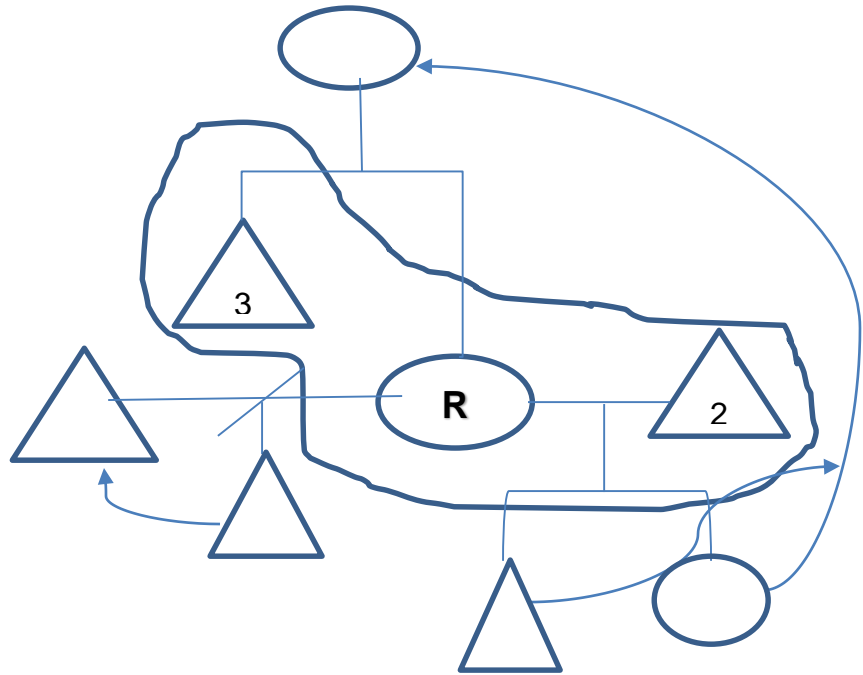
Man



Siblings (e.g. brother of respondent)

Example

In this example the respondent (R) is living in Zwelitsha with her partner (2) and brother (3). She has a son living with her previous partner and his father, whom she is separated from. She has two children with her current partner (2). Her children are currently living with her mother.



GENOGRAM

Please draw the picture of the family and other people in the household.

Include those living in Zwelitsha.

Remember to also draw family and non-related people of the RESPONDENT (woman who takes care of housework, older than 18 years), who live OUTSIDE of Zwelitsha.

A. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Person code	A1. What is every person's relationship to the respondent?
	1. Husband/partner 2. Son/daughter/ adopted child 3. Brother/sister 4. Mother/father 5. Grandmother/grandfather 6. Other relative of respondent (aunt/uncle or in-laws) 7. Non-related person
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A2. What language is spoken the most in the household?
1. IsiXhosa
2. Afrikaans
3. Nama
4. IsiZulu
5. English
6. Sepedi
7. Sesotho
8. Setswana
9. SiSwati
10. Tshivenda
11. Xitsonga
12. Other (specify...)

Person code (respondent = 1)	A3. Gender <i>All</i> 1. Male 2. Female	A4. Age <i>All</i>	A5. Marital status 16 years and older 1. Married by traditional law 2. Married by civil law 3. Cohabiting with a partner 4. Single 5. Divorced/Separated	A6. Race <i>All</i> 1. Black 2. Coloured 3. Indian 4. White
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B. EDUCATION

Person code (respondent = 1)	B1. Is x attending a, school, night school, adult school training, college or university AT THE MOMENT? <i>6 years and older</i> 0. No 1. Yes, school 2. Yes, college/ university 3. Yes, nightschool 4. Learnership (SETA's etc.) 5. Other (specify)	B2. What grade is x currently attending? <i>6 years and older, currently at school</i> 0. Gr 0 1. Gr 1/SubA 2. Gr2/SubB 3. Gr3/St1 4. Gr4/St2 5. Gr5/St3 6. Gr6/St4 7. Gr7/St5 8. Gr8/St6 9. Gr9/St7 10. Gr10/St8 11. Gr11/St9 12. Gr12/St10	B3. Is x person able to read and write? <i>All</i> 1. Yes 2. No	B4. Which of the following does the child attend? <i>For children younger than 6 years</i> 1. Pre-school / nursery school 2. Grade 00/Grade 000 3. Crèche / 4. Day-mother / gogo 5. Other (specify below) Go to B.5 0. None. -1. Do not know	B5. If none/other, where is the child the most of the day? <i>For children younger than 6 years</i>
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Person code (respondent = 1)	B6. What is x's highest level of education completed? <i>7 years and older, not at school</i> 0. None 1. Gr1/SubA 2. Gr2/SubB 3. Gr3/St1 4. Gr4/St2 5. Gr5/St3 6. Gr6/St4 7. Gr7/St5 8. Gr8/St6 9. Gr9/St7 10. 10.Gr10/St8 11. Gr11/St9 12. Gr12/St10 13. Diploma/other post school without matric 14. Diploma with matric 15. Degree with matric 16. Learnership (without matric) 17. Learnership (with matric) 18. School for learners with special needs 19. Other (please specify below) -1. Do not know	B7. Why has x stopped attending school? Choose all that apply, combinations possible <i>7 years and older, not in school, with schooling lower than matric</i> 1. Matric completed 2. Not enough money, including transport/accommodation 3. Needs to take care of family members/parents do not want him/her to 4. Does not want to anymore 5. Pregnancy/parenthood 6. Marriage 7. Currently working 8. Suspended/problems at school 9. Not suitable school for disabled 10. Other, specify -1. Do not know.
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C. WORK HISTORY

Person code (respondent =1)	C1. In the past year did person x have more than one job? 0. None 1. Yes, more than one job 2. No, only one job -1. Do not know	C2. In the past year, what was person x's main kind of work? <i>15 years and older, working</i>	C3. In the past year, what other kinds of work was person X doing? i.e. if person X has a second job, <i>15 years and older, working</i>	C3. If X is currently NOT doing paid work, why not? Choose all that apply <i>15 years and older, not working</i> 1. Has found a job, but will start later 2. Physically disabled/disadvantaged/sickness 3. Pensioner/retired and chooses not to work 4. Homemaker and chooses not to work. 5. Scholar/student 6. Seasonal worker 7. Contract worker resting before next contract. 8. Has independent income and does not need to work 10. Unable to find any work 11. Unable to find appropriate work (insufficient salary, location, conditions) 12. Other, specify
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D. INCOME

Person code (respondent = 1)	D1. Please indicate all months in which person X received a fixed income/income from formal employment. <i>15 years and older, working</i>											
	November 2014	December 2014	January 2015	February 2015	March 2015	April 2015	May 2015	June 2015	July 2015	August 2015	September 2015	October 2015
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Person code (respondent = 1)	D2. If currently working, indicate the TOTAL amount in Rands person X will take home at the end of the month (from one/many jobs): <i>15 years and older, working</i> -1. Do not know -2. Refuse	D3. Grant beneficiary <i>Please indicate which of the following grants the person receives. This is the person who qualifies NOT who applies on behalf/receives money.</i> 0. None 1. Government Old Age (Pensioners) 2. Government Disability Grant 3. Government Care Dependency Grant 4. Unemployment Insurance (Blue card) 5. Government Child Support Grant 6. Government Foster Care Grant	D4. Grant recipient <i>Please indicate who physically receives/collects the money.</i> 0. None 1. Government Old Age (Pensioners) 2. Government Disability Grant 3. Government Care Dependency Grant 4. Unemployment Insurance (Blue card) 5. Government Child Support Grant 6. Government Foster Care Grant	D5. Private maintenance (Father/mother/ex- husband/ex-wife sends money for children or ex- wife/-husband) 1. None 2. Yes, write down amount -1. Do not know -2. Refuse
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Person code (respon- dent = 1)	D6. Other payments/financial contributions (each month or bi-monthly) from people who are not part of your household (e.g. child who lives elsewhere sends money every month; Excluding regular private maintenance payments) 0. None 1. Yes, write down amount -1. Do not know -2. Refuse	D7. Do you receive any money from boarders, tenants or any other rent from any room/s or properties rented out? 0. None 1. Yes, write down amount -1. Do not know -2. Refuse	D8. Apart from sources already mentioned, was there any other source(s) of income in the last month? 0. None 1. Yes, write down amount -1. Do not know -2. Refuse		D9. Does X have a bank or savings account (including postal savings account)? All 1. Yes 2. No -1. Do not know	D10. Does X belong to a savings scheme, such as an informal savings club, stokvel, etc? (NOT funeral plan) All 1. Yes 2. No -1. Do not know
			Amount	Source		
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E. MIGRATION

Person code (Respondent = 1)	E1. Does person X live in Zwelitsha most of the year (at least 6 months)? <i>All</i> 1. Yes 2. No -1. Do not know	E2. When did person X move to Zwelitsha (the most recent move)? Indicate the year and the month. <i>All</i> <i>If person X is only here part of the year, indicate when he/she arrived most recently.</i> MM/YYYY	E3. Where did person X stay before moving to Zwelitsha (i.e. directly before moving to Zwelitsha)? 15 years and older 1. Other area in Langrug (specify e.g. Mandela Park) 2. Other area in Franschhoek (specify) 3. Farms in Franschhoek area 4. Other town or city nearby (specify) 5. Western Cape 6. Eastern Cape 7. Other in SA 8. Outside SA	E3. Reasons for moving FROM previous location? Choose all that apply 15 years and older 1. No suitable employment 2. No suitable housing 3. Paying rent was too expensive 4. Paying for services was too expensive 5. No suitable opportunities for a good education 6. No suitable income 7. Poverty and not enough food to eat 8. Married someone living elsewhere 9. Divorce 10. Death/disappearance of spouse/breadwinner 11. No choice (forced to move away) 12. Other reason (specify):	E4. Reasons for moving TO Zwelitsha? Choose all that apply 15 years and older 1. Job transfer 2. Temporary employment/contract work here 3. Best employment opportunities 4. Fastest growing economy 5. Best housing opportunities 6. Best educational/training opportunities 7. Best social networks and support 8. Married someone living here 9. No choice (forced to move here) 10. Other reason (specify):
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F. CARE OF CHILDREN, SICK, DISABLED, INFIRM

Person code (respondent =1)	F1. Does person X have children? 1. Yes 2. No -1. Do not know	F2. If yes, how many children does person X have?	F3. If yes, who usually provides the most care for young children (Younger than 6 years) living in the household in Zwelithsa? Indicate 1 next to the main carer	F4. Who provides care for children (younger than 6 years) when the main carer is away or unable to provide care? Indicate 2 next to person who helps with care	F5. Who usually provides the most care for children (6 years and older, younger than 18 years) living in the household in Zwelitsha? Indicate 1 next to the main carer	F6. Who provides care for children (6 years and older, younger than 18 years) when the main carer is away or unable to provide care? Indicate 2 next to person who helps with care
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Person code Respondent = 1	F7 Is there anyone here that currently suffers from illness and/or injury? <i>All</i> 0. None (go to question F10) 1. Injury (e.g. as a result of violence, car accident, gunshot, assault, fighting, burning, etc.) 2. Diarrhoea 3. Asthma 4. Epilepsy 5. Cancer 6. TB or serious cough with blood 7. Depression / other psychological/emotional illness 8. Diabetes 9. High blood pressure 10. HIV/AIDS 11. Other sexually transmitted disease 12. Heart condition 13. Other illness and/or injury and/or combination, specify	F8. Does this sick person currently need full-time care? <i>Sick/injured person (not disabled)</i> 1. Yes 2. No	F9. Who is currently providing the most care for this person? Indicate 1 next to the carer's name.	F10. Who usually takes care of sick people in the house? Indicate 1 next to the carer's name.
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Person code Respondent = 1	F11. Is there anyone here that is currently infirm (e.g. elderly person) 1. Yes 2. No (go to F14)	F12. Does this infirm person currently need full-time care (e.g. elderly)? <i>Infirm/elderly person</i> 1. Yes 2. No	F13. Who is currently providing the most care for this infirm (e.g. elderly) person? <i>All</i> Indicate 1 next to the carer's name.	F14. Is someone in the household disabled? 0. No (go to F11) (If yes)Indicate type: 1. Blind (no sight) 2. Deaf (no hearing) 3. Physical disability (eg. Paraplegic/impairment) 4. Mental disability 5. Other (specify)	F15. Does the disabled person need full-time care? 1. Yes 2. No	F16. Who provides the most care for the disabled person? Indicate 1 next to carer's name.
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G. HOUSEHOLD CHORES

Person code (respondent=1)	G1. Who is responsible for most of the household chores? Indicate 1 next to person who is mostly responsible	Please indicate who does each of the following activities: <i>All</i> Yes; 2. No; -1. Do not know						
		G2. Fetching water	G3. Cooking	G4. Washing dishes	G5. Washing clothes	G6. Housecleaning	G7. Cleaning yard	G8. Other (specify)
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G10. In a typical day, what household task takes the most time? *Individual response*

QUESTIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE

H. PROVISION OF MONEY/GOODS to people living elsewhere

H1. Do you contribute, by sending money or goods, to children living elsewhere? *If the respondent has children living ELSEWHERE (eg. In Eastern Cape)*

1. Yes
2. No

H2. If yes, how often do you send money or goods to children living elsewhere? *If the respondent has children living ELSEWHERE (eg. In Eastern Cape)*

(e.g. once a month, every December, when needed)

H3. What kind of contributions do you make to children elsewhere? *If the respondent has children living ELSEWHERE (eg. In Eastern Cape)*

(Ask respondent to be specific: e.g. “clothes at the beginning of the year” or “food”...)

H4. Do you contribute to other people living elsewhere (e.g. other relatives or non-related persons)? *If the respondent has family or others they take care of that don't live with them, and are not their children (for example a brother in JHB)*

1. Yes
2. No

H5. If yes, how often do you send money or goods to others living elsewhere? *If the respondent has family or others they take care of that don't live with them, and are not their children (for example a brother in JHB)*

(e.g. once a month, every December, when needed)

H6. What kind of contributions do you make to others living elsewhere (e.g. other relatives or non-related persons)? AND TO WHOM?

If the respondent has family or others they take care of that don't live with them, and are not their children (for example a brother in JHB)

(Ask respondent to be specific: e.g. “money from time to time when my mother needs to go to the hospital” or “send clothes for my sister”...)

I. GENERAL HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY

I1. Indicate the type of structure that the household lives in? (If more than one, indicate more than one)

1. Informal dwelling/shack in an informal/squatter settlement
2. House/flat/room in backyard
3. Other (specify)

I2. How many rooms, kitchens included, are there in this house?

I3. How many rooms are used for sleeping?

SANITATION

Where do you go to relieve yourself (go to the toilet)? (If more than one, indicate)

I4. By day:

1. In the open (mountain/field)
2. Communal flush toilet connected to a public sewerage system (specify in which section)
3. Bucket toilet
4. Other (specify...)

I5. By night:

1. In the open (mountain/field)
2. Communal flush toilet connected to a public sewerage system (specify in which section)
3. Bucket toilet
4. Other (specify...)

How far do you walk from the house to relieve yourself (in open space/toilet facility)?

I6. By day:

1. 0-10m from house
2. 11-30m from house
3. 31-50m from house
4. 51-100m from house
5. 101m -200m from house
6. More than 200m

17. By night:

1. 0-10m from house
2. 11-30m from house
3. 31-50m from house
4. 51-100m from house
5. 101m -200m from house
6. More than 200m

18. How long does it take to get to the facility/open space, if you walk from your house?

1. Less than 5 minutes
2. 6- 10 minutes
3. 11- 15 minutes
4. 16- 20 minutes
5. More than 20 minutes

19. What do you use to clean yourself after defecating? If more than one, indicate.

1. None
2. Toilet paper
3. Newspaper
4. Other paper

5. Rags
6. Water
7. Other (specify)

I10. If you make use of the open space, how is faeces and paper disposed of?

1. None, leave in open
2. Dig hole and cover with soil
3. Cover with soil
4. Other (specify...)

How safe do you feel going to the toilet facility/open space?

I11. By day:

1. Very unsafe
2. Somewhat unsafe
3. Somewhat safe
4. Very safe

I12. By night:

1. Very unsafe
2. Somewhat unsafe
3. Somewhat safe
4. Very safe

If you feel unsafe (answered 1 or 2), what is the reason?

I13. By day:

I14. By night:

WATER

I15. What is the household's main source of drinking water?

1. Public/communal tap in Zwelitsha
2. Public/communal tap in another section (specify)
3. Other (specify)

I16. How far is the tap from the house?

1. 0-10m from house
2. 11-30m from house
3. 31-50m from house
4. 51-100m from house
5. 101m -200m from house
6. More than 200m

I17. How long does it take to get to the tap, if you walk from your house?

1. Less than 5 minutes
2. 6- 10 minutes
3. 11- 15 minutes
4. 16-20 minutes
5. More than 20 minute

I18. In a typical day, how many times do you go to fetch water?

I19. How many litres of water do you fetch at a time (bucket is 20l)?

I20. How do you dispose of water that has been used for washing?

1. In the street outside of house
2. In the yard
3. In water pipe/greywater hole

4. In laundry basin in other section
5. In toilet facility with sewerage system in other section

ENERGY

I21. In a typical day, how many times do you cook food?

I22. What kind of food do you usually cook?

I23. What energy sources do you use for food preparation? Please indicate the most important source, and the second most important (used when first is not available)

1. Electricity
2. Paraffin
3. Wood
4. Charcoal
5. Candles
6. Animal droppings

Other (please specify)

N/A. Not applicable

Most important energy source	Second most important energy source
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

I24. What energy sources do you use for lighting? Please indicate the most important source, and the second most important (used when first is not available)

1. Electricity
2. Paraffin
3. Wood
4. Charcoal
5. Candles
6. Animal droppings
7. Other (please specify)

N/A. Not applicable

Most important energy source	Second most important energy source

J. GENERAL QUESTIONS

J1. What is your biggest worry at the moment?

J2. What is the biggest advantage about living in Zwelitsha?

J3. What would you like to change in Zwelitsha?

J4. If you cannot do your care duties at times (like chores and child care), is there anyone who can help? If yes, who?